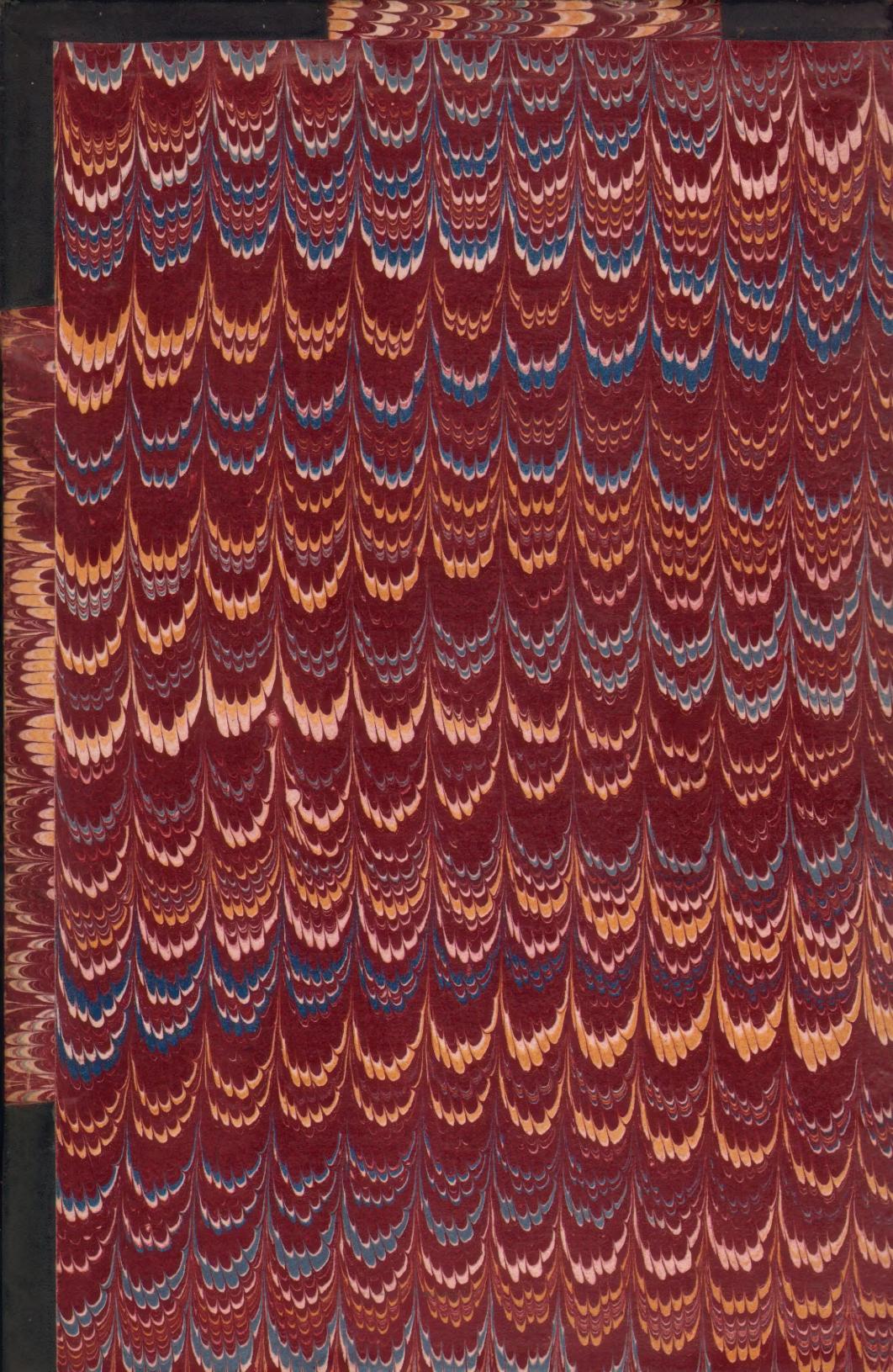


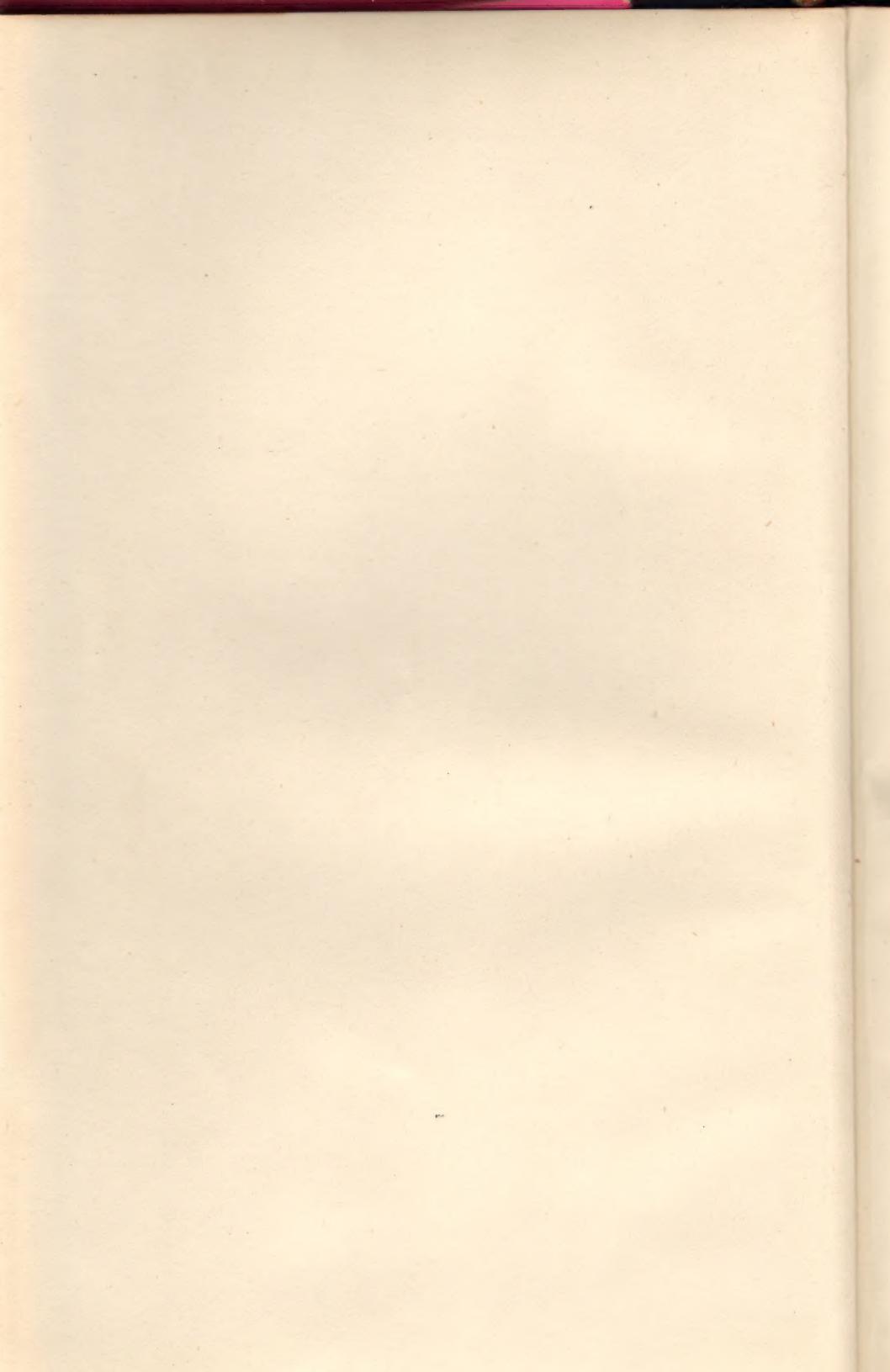
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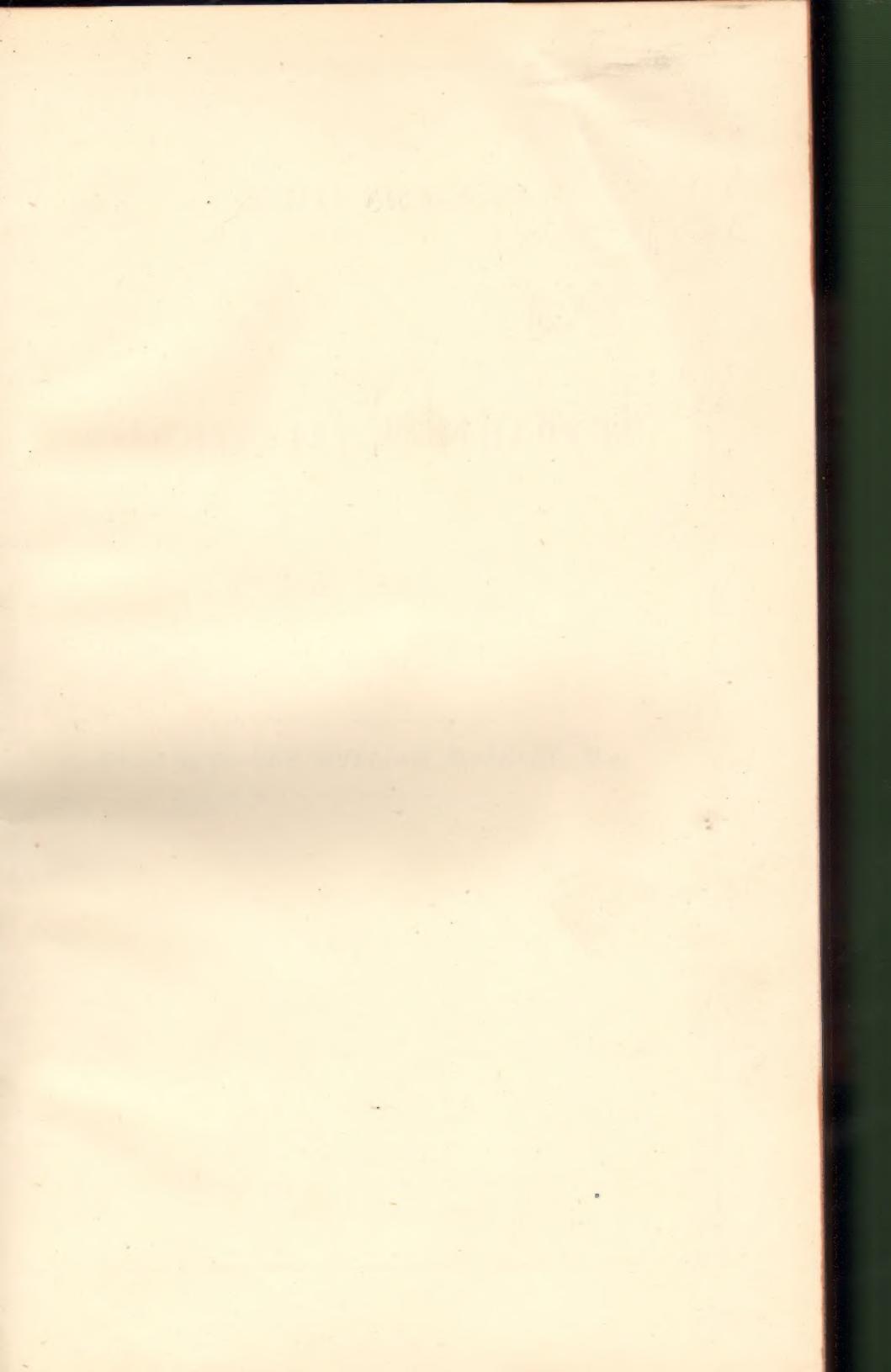
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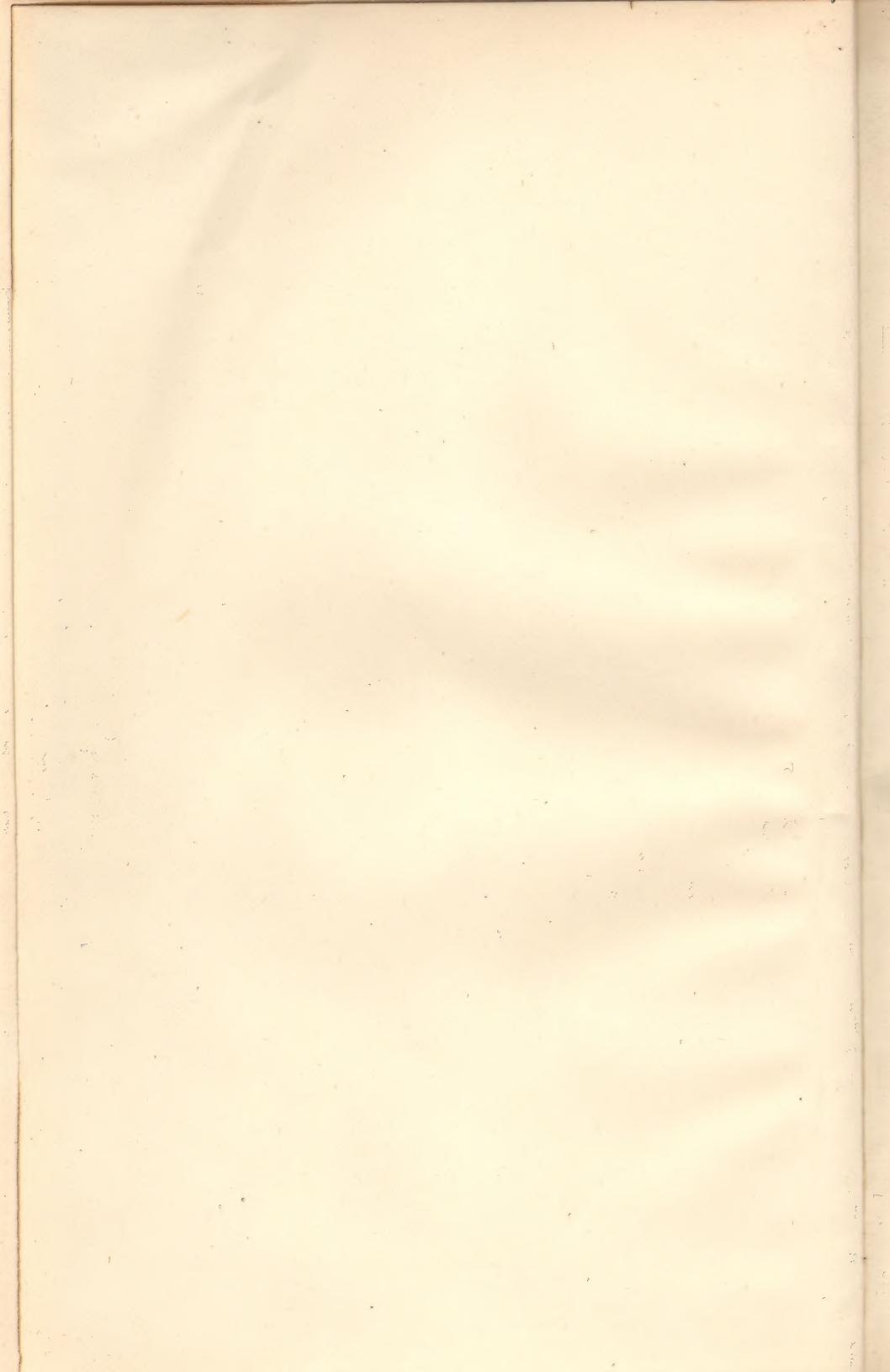
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RECORDS

OF

Gloucester Cathedral

FOR 1882-3.

Edited by the REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

VOL. I.

GLOUCESTER:

PRINTED FOR THE GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL SOCIETY

BY E. NEST, WESTGATE STREET

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It will save the trouble of an application if the above Subscribers will kindly send Postal Orders to the Editor for their Subscription (2/6) to Part 2.

Records of Gloucester Cathedral.

1882--3.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL SOCIETY.

IN March, 1882, the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, at that time Canon in residence, suggested to some friends that a Society should be formed with a view to promoting an intelligent interest in Gloucester Cathedral amongst all classes.

This suggestion having met with hearty approval, Canon Lyttelton proceeded to send a printed letter to many of the clergy and gentry residing in Gloucester and the neighbourhood, stating the objects he had in view, and asking for support.

About thirty-five ladies and gentlemen wrote in reply, promising to become members if such a society were established, whereupon Canon Lyttelton summoned a meeting, in the Library of the Cathedral, on Tuesday, April 4th.

There were present at this meeting : SIR WILLIAM V. GUISE, Bart., the REV. CANONS LYTTTELTON and TINLING, the REVS. W. BAZELEY, E. EVANS, B. K. FOSTER, F. C. GUISE, T. HOLBROW, J. M. HALL, J. MAYNE, H. PROCTOR, and F. SMITH, DR. NEEDHAM, and MESSRS. T. H. CHANCE, H. MEDLAND, J. T. D. NIBLETT, and J. STRATFORD.

On the proposal of Canon Lyttelton, SIR WILLIAM GUISE took the chair, and made some introductory remarks. He hoped that the movement which had been originated by Canon Lyttelton would develop into something of greater importance. The lectures, which were to be given by men of eminence, would undoubtedly attract persons of education ; but he trusted that they would be followed by the publication of the records of Gloucester Abbey and Cathedral which were in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, thus giving the ordinary student access to the registers of Abbots Froucester, Braunce

Newton, and Malvern. He hoped also that an illustrated account of the Cathedral tombs and monuments, similar to the Rev. F. T. Havergal's work on Hereford Cathedral, might be published under the auspices of this society. Gloucester Cathedral stood at the head of the second-class Cathedrals, and its history had been interwoven with the history of the English people for more than a thousand years.

CANON LYTTELTON said that it was a matter of the deepest gratification to him that his suggestion had been so warmly received, and he trusted that with the valuable assistance of the Chairman (Sir William Guise), Mr. Gambier Parry, and others whom he would name, he might be able to make the movement a complete success. He was anxious that the Society should have as its officers persons residing permanently in or near Gloucester. He would not be able to give very much personal assistance, as he would be in residence only three months during the year; but he would do his utmost. He suggested that an Executive Committee should be formed, consisting of Sir William Guise, Canons Lyttelton and Tinling, and Messrs. Gambier Parry and F. S. Waller, with the Revs. B. K. Foster and W. Bazeley as joint secretaries. He thought it advisable not to attempt too much at first, but to commence with a short series of popular lectures, and, if they were successful, to follow them up in some such way as the Chairman (Sir William Guise) had suggested. He had thought of some subjects on which he hoped to get eminent men to lecture. Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, might perhaps be induced to give an introductory lecture on "Cathedral Architecture." Dr. E. A. Freeman might be asked to lecture on "Gloucester Cathedral in its relation to English History." He hoped some help would be obtained from Sir William Guise. Mr. Gambier Parry was better qualified to deal with the artistic characteristics of the Cathedral than anyone else. He thought that Mr. J. D. T. Niblett and the Rev. W. Bazeley would be able to throw light on the materials for a history of the Cathedral which were in the Cathedral Library. They might, in addition to the lectures, have some meetings or conversazioni. He begged to propose the gentlemen he had already named as members of the Executive Committee, with power to add to their number.

The REV. T. HOLBROW seconded this proposal, which was put to the meeting by the Chairman, and unanimously carried.

On the proposal of the REV. J. M. HALL, Mr. J. D. T. Niblett was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

Some discussion then arose as to whether the Society should work in connexion with some other Society, or alone.

MR. H. MEDLAND said the Gloucester Literary and Scientific Association,

of which he was hon. secretary, had 150 members ; and it had occurred to him that the proposed lectures might be given under its auspices.

MR. BAZELEY said that, when the subject was first mentioned to him, he had thought that Canon Lyttelton's proposal might be carried out by the Local Branch of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society ; but he was now of opinion that the Society, emanating as it did from the Cathedral body and founded for a special purpose, should be entirely independent.

CANON LYTTELTON was quite willing to acknowledge the good work that was being done by the two Societies named ; but he wished the new Society to preserve its individuality.

After some discussion as to the responsibilities and privileges of members, it was decided to leave the terms of membership in the hands of the Committee. As it seemed desirable, however, that a guarantee fund should be formed to defray immediate expenses, the Chairman, Canon Lyttelton, Canon Tinling, Dr. Needham, Mr. Chance, and Mr. Niblett contributed each a guinea, with that object.

The CHAIRMAN inquired what name would be given to the new Society ?

MR. NIBLETT proposed "The Osric Society," as Osric was the founder of St. Peter's Abbey. It was, however, agreed that it should be called "The Gloucester Cathedral Society."

THE REV. F. C. GUISE said he was very anxious that peripatetic lectures on the history of the Cathedral should be given to bodies of visitors, and especially to the different choirs, when there were Festivals of Parish Church Choirs.

CANON LYTTELTON said that he would gladly aid in carrying out Mr. Guise's suggestion, which met with his most hearty approval.

CANON TINLING suggested the preparation of a leaflet as one of the first duties of the new Society.

The meeting then closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY, 1882—3.

The Executive Committee commenced its work of organization on the 7th of May, and continued to meet at intervals of a month during the following year. A scheme for a constitution of the Society was drawn up and approved of; but it was decided, after considerable discussion, to carry out the programme suggested by Canon Lyttelton for the first year, under the direction of the Executive Committee. It was unanimously agreed that, in order to attain the special object for which this Society was formed, *i.e.*, the promotion of an intelligent interest in Gloucester Cathedral amongst all classes, the Committee would endeavour—

- (1) To arrange lectures on the Cathedral by eminent archæologists;
- (2) To collect materials for a complete history of the Cathedral and S. Peter's Abbey; and
- (3) To facilitate visits of the working classes to the Cathedral, under competent guides.

The Committee added to its number the Ven. Archdeacon Sheringham and the Rev. H. S. Slight.

With the valuable assistance of Canon Lyttelton, promises of lectures were obtained from Dr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. Gambier Parry, and Canon Westcott. Mr. F. S. Waller, Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, and the Rev. W. Bazeley also undertook to prepare short papers.

Mr. F. S. Waller, at the request of the Committee, undertook to prepare a concise guide to the Cathedral, to be sold at a nominal price.

The Committee then proceeded to draw up its programme for the winter session of 1882—3, and issued a prospectus, inviting subscriptions which would entitle the subscribers to tickets for three lectures and a conversazione.

Amongst those who subscribed for the series of lectures and conversazioni were the following ladies and gentlemen:—The Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Sir Samuel Marling, Bart., the Hon. and Rev. Canon Lyttelton, the Rev. Canon Harvey, the Rev. Canon Tinling, the Mayor of Gloucester, Mr. Adams, Dr. Bond, Mrs. Barnard, Mrs. Barwick Baker, Mr. Granville Lloyd Baker, Mr. Banks, Dr. Batten, Mr. Dearman Birchall, Rev. J. P. A. Bowers, Mr. H. W. Bruton, Rev. H. M. J. Bowles, Miss Burrup, Mr. J. Bryan, Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Mr. T. H. Chance, Mr. T. Commeline, Miss Cooper, Mr. J. Chadborne, Mr. Dancey, Mr. C. Davis, the Rev. J. Emeris, Mrs. Eassie, Mr. K. H. Fryer, Mrs. Fortt, Rev. J. Priestly

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The first lecture under the auspices of the Society was given in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, on Tuesday evening, October 31st, by DR. E. A. FREEMAN, the well-known Historian and Antiquary.

On the invitation of the Dean and the Executive Committee, the EARL OF DUCIE, the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, occupied the chair. There were present, besides the ladies and gentlemen already mentioned, and various members of their families:—The Sheriff of the County, Sir T. Crawley-Bœvey, Bart., Sir John Maclean, Dr. E. A. Freeman, Mr. Gambier Parry, Mr. W. P. Price, Major Price, the Revs. R. Washbourne, E. R. Nussey, J. M. Hall, E. T. W. Thomas, E. G. Penny, and the hon. secretaries, the Revs. W. Bazeley and B. K. Foster.

In the absence of the Dean, the REV. R. HARVEY, Canon in residence, formally requested the Earl of Dacie, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, to take the chair.

On doing so, the LORD-LIEUTENANT said: “Some time ago, when it was proposed to me that I should take the chair at this meeting, I assented to do so, but perhaps somewhat hastily, for I did not realise, until I began to consider, what the difficulties were of the post which I had thus undertaken. Was I to introduce the lecturer? Well, when I came to consider, it did not seem to me that the historian of the Norman Conquest, and a distinguished ecclesiologist, needed any introduction; and it also seemed an inversion of the natural order of things, and one extremely injudicious, that ignorance should introduce knowledge. I had then to consider, was I to say anything about the Cathedral? I did not consider that for long, for I found that I had nothing whatever to say. I was then obliged to appeal to common

sense, and common sense came to my rescue with one of those suggestions which are so simple that they seem akin to genius ; and common sense said, 'Say nothing at all, and get out of the way as quickly as you can,' which I now do."

DR. FREEMAN, who had a very cordial reception, said : "I have to begin—if that may be said to have a beginning to which I shall most likely not make an end—I have to begin by making two confessions, confessions of two very great losses, one of which I doubt not you have already found out. I have lost my voice : it is gone somewhere, and it is somewhere in Gloucester, for I had it an hour or two ago ; and, having lost it, I shall have some difficulty in speaking. My second loss is that I have left my manuscript behind me at home. I don't know, however, that that is any loss. I must make a little confession about my manuscript. I had intended to give you, this evening, a long discourse on the city and abbey of Gloucester, and their position in the general history of England. I sat down to prepare the lecture, thinking that I should perhaps have no more to say about Gloucester than I had a few months ago at Carlisle, when I was speaking there to the members of the Archaeological Institute. But I found that the history of Gloucester was infinite. There was such a vast deal to be said about it, and especially in the particular time that I have had most to do with—in which period everything that happened at all seemed somehow to have happened at Gloucester—that I found the subject seemed to have no end ; and instead of getting anything like to the end of the history of the abbey of Gloucester, instead of landing you in the present state of things, I had written a great many more pages than anybody would care to hear at a sitting, and had not got out of my own proper centuries. Instead of bringing you down to the present bishop, I had written seventy pages, and had not got beyond Abbot Serlo. So you see, at all events, there is a good deal to be said about the city of Gloucester, and that if I have broken down, I have broken down under the weight of my subject, which perhaps you who belong to the city of Gloucester may think not altogether discreditable to the city you dwell in. Therefore, instead of giving you the long discourse I hoped to give, I may perhaps attempt to speak—if I am able to speak at all, and you see I can hardly do so—from these few notes I have put together."

Dr. Freeman then proceeded to deliver his lecture on "Gloucester : Its Abbey and Cathedral, and their place in English History."

CANON TINLING, as one of the canons of the Cathedral, in the name of the meeting, thanked Dr. Freeman for his deeply interesting and weighty lecture. Although Dr. Freeman had left his manuscript at home, that was no loss, for no other document was needed than himself. They hoped Dr. Freeman would come again and complete the lecture. He expressed his pleasure at the large attendance.

CANON HARVEY, in the absence of the Dean, seconded the vote of thanks.

The CHAIRMAN added his personal thanks, and looking to what he might call the megalithic foundation of the subject which Mr. Freeman had laid, there could be no doubt that a prodigious superstructure had yet to come, and many more lectures might have to be given before he could complete the plan he had thus commenced.

The motion was carried with applause, and a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, upon the motion of Sir W. V. Guise, concluded the meeting.

The Chapter House had been for many years considered unfit for public meetings on account of the echo from the vaulted roof ; but on this occasion the acoustic properties of the room were greatly improved by a canopy which Mr. F. S. Waller, the Cathedral architect, had ordered to be stretched over the dais and across the building.

Dr. Freeman's lecture, delivered under great disadvantages, was reported by the *Gloucester Journal*,—*in extenso* and with great correctness. With Dr. Freeman's kind permission, that report is given in these “Records” without any correction by the author.

The second lecture was given in the Chapter House, on Friday, Dec. 1st, by MR. T. GAMBIER PARRY, on “St. Peter's Abbey, now Gloucester Cathedral : and its Early Architecture.”

The Mayor of Gloucester (MR. ALDERMAN J. SESSIONS) presided, and was supported by the Rev. Canons Harvey, Lyttelton, and Tinling, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., and other members of the Executive Committee.

The MAYOR said that, although he could not enter into the technicalities or details of art, he was able to admire everything that was beautiful in art, and as such he admired Gloucester Cathedral. He had visited many foreign cathedrals, but he had always returned to his own cathedral with renewed pleasure and pride : he believed it to be one of the best in England. He would be very sorry to believe it possible that Gloucester Cathedral could be again despoiled, or turned into a stable for horses, as tradition said it had been by the soldiers of Cromwell.

The Mayor then called on Mr. Gambier Parry to deliver his lecture.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY, who was very warmly received, said he was painfully aware of the disadvantage under which he addressed his audience, following, as he did, so eminent a lecturer as Mr. E. A. Freeman, who was

not only a lecturer but one of the most eminent historians of Europe. There was also one other disadvantage which had distressed him from the beginning, and that was that his subject was of such a nature that it was simply impossible to put it into words in such a way as to make it comprehensible to a mixed audience: one could more fittingly deal with the artistic characteristics of a cathedral in a series of lectures for architectural students. He would, however, address them on a much broader scale, and omit details.

On the conclusion of Mr. Parry's lecture, which is printed in these "Records," CANON HARVEY proposed a vote of thanks to him for his very valuable address.

CANON LYTTELTON seconded the vote of thanks, and said: It was written "That if any would not work neither should he eat," and another writer had added, "He that will not work neither let him think," for his thoughts would do no good. Mr. Gambier Parry was one who worked well and thought well. If he enjoyed any special talent he did not keep it to himself, but let as many others as possible enjoy it with him, and that evening he had shared with them some of his knowledge with regard to that great cathedral building. Looking at that glorious and ancient monument, under the shadow of which they lived, he thought there was much that was noble and true that could be learned from it. He might apply to the walls of the fabric the words of Holy Scripture, "There is neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them." In the lectures given in that Chapter House, it was hoped that those who knew the voices of the cathedral walls would communicate their knowledge to others. They had heard Mr. Freeman, and they had heard Mr. Gambier Parry, both of whom had shown themselves able and willing to do so. The next lecture would be given by Canon Westcott, on the men who had dwelt long ago in that great building.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY having briefly responded,

SIR W. V. GUISE proposed, and MR. GAMBIER PARRY seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which was carried and acknowledged.

CANON LYTTELTON announced that the date of the next lecture would be January 17th, and that the Lord Bishop would preside.

The third lecture was given in the Chapter House, on Wednesday, January 17th, under the presidency of the LORD BISHOP of the Diocese.

Mr. F. S. Waller had arranged that the platform should be placed at the east end of the building, and it was found when this was done that there was no difficulty in hearing the speakers. As on previous occasions, the Chapter House was filled by a large and attentive audience. Amongst those present were the Ven. the Archdeacon of Gloucester, the Rev. Canons Harvey and Lyttelton, Sir Samuel Marling, the Mayor of Gloucester, &c., &c.

The BISHOP, in introducing the Rev. Canon Westcott, claimed him as a very old friend, and a colleague in a very important work—the revision of the New Testament. What the subject of the Professor's lecture would be, he knew not; like the audience, he was preparing for a very agreeable surprise. The subject of the lecture was "A Benedictine Monk," but whether this was a typical monk or some great historical personage who was to be drawn out of the curtains from the past and presented to them in the nineteenth century, he did not know. This he might say, by way of gentle preparation, that their thoughts would probably be carried back to days long past, when some mitred abbot stood—with a dignity which his poor successor could not by any means assume—in that very ancient chamber. Professor Westcott would also take them back to the days when the great order of the Benedictines—introduced, as most of them knew, into England at a very early date indeed, certainly not later than the days of King Edgar—diffused learning and benevolence through the land. It was now the fashion to think lightly of great days gone by, and it might be good for them to hear the story—which doubtless they would hear, to some extent—of what honest and earnest devotion to God and to their fellow-creatures was shown by those monks. We paced the cloisters of the cathedral and showed them to admiring friends, but did not perhaps bring back completely to the mind the time when patient, earnest and devoted men paced those cloisters; when they sat at the little chambers which were seen at one side of the cloisters, and toiled for us of these later days; how they worshipped God in yonder building, and then, at last, were placed in the green cemetery outside. All those days would doubtless be brought back to them by the lecturer, and would perhaps remind them that, after all said and done, we were no better than our fathers.

CANON WESTCOTT proceeded to read a lecture on "A Benedictine Monk of the Middle Ages," which will be found, by his permission, printed in these "Records," from the reports of the *Gloucester Journal* and the *Gloucestershire Chronicle*.

CANON LYTTELTON moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for the admirable—if he might use that phrase—the ennobling and most edifying lecture, to which they had had the pleasure of listening. He would like to begin by stating how the Society had been led to obtain the services of

Professor Westcott. When he (the speaker) first thought of this course of lectures, which he had had the pleasure of inaugurating and assisting, through the labours of others, he asked one person to give the Society a lecture who was exceedingly well fitted for such a work—Bishop Benson. He (the speaker) had not then the least idea of what Bishop Benson's destiny might be, but he knew the Bishop's admirable work on cathedrals, and felt that no one could be more fitted than his lordship for the task. He stated to Bishop Benson the plan of the Society, and the Bishop wrote him a most enthusiastic letter in answer, stating that he greatly valued the idea, and thought the Society might be very useful, and that he would have been very glad to have taken part in its work, but was too busy at the time. The Bishop went on to say, however, that there was one friend of his whom he would earnestly ask Canon Lyttelton to take in his place, and one who was the “fittest man in England”—he (the speaker) believed the Bishop used those very words—to undertake such a lecture as Canon Lyttelton desired to obtain. The friend to whom the Bishop referred was Professor Westcott. From the enthusiastic way in which Bishop Benson wrote with regard to the scheme of the Society, he (the speaker) did not altogether despair of finding him willing, even in the high position to which he had been called, to come down to this city and give the Society a lecture on the general subject of cathedrals. He thought the Archbishop designate would feel that such a work would affect not only Gloucester, but also other towns in which there were great cathedrals. With regard to the lecture of that evening, Canon Lyttelton said he thought they must all feel that the peculiar characteristic, and, he might also say, the glory of the Reformation in England—especially in England—had been that it was not carried out upon the plan of making “a clean sweep” of all old institutions and starting afresh, but that it carried on the life of the past. He thought all must agree that that was the great characteristic of the Reformation in England. He hoped the lecture might tend to wean them more from the dangerous and most misleading habit of looking upon the great ages of the past only to find fault—to pick out only their many superstitions—and not to see the great and noble examples which might be learned from them. We should look to the ancient history of our country and Church to learn from it what lessons might be gained for our course in the present day. He thought no means could be better fitted to educate men to do this than such lectures as that which had been delivered that evening. Those pathetic—for he thought they might so be called—memorials of the past, the rocks which stood above the flood which had submerged all the great old world of which they once formed a part, surely must make them wish to realise something of the noblest life of human kind of those past days. He did not think it would be possible for any of those who heard Professor Westcott's paper to come into that building again without having brought vividly before his imagination some of the scenes

which Professor Westcott had pictured. He would not occupy time further, but would only express for himself—and he was sure he might do so in the name of everyone present—the pleasure and great edification which they as well as himself must have gained from the lecture. He moved this vote of thanks with all his heart, and he was sure he only expressed the feelings of all those present in saying that he very much hoped that this lecture would not be the last Professor Westcott would give to the Society. He trusted this would be the case with all the lecturers the Society had as yet heard, and all who would follow. He hoped the lecturers would not cease to take an interest in the Society, but would come forward again at future times to assist in carrying on the work. He hoped this would be the case with Mr. Gambier Parry, whom they would never cease to press till they got some more lectures from him.

MR. GAMBIER PARRY said he had been asked to second the vote of thanks, and the best thing he could do would be to add no remarks of his own. It was irresistible, however, to at any rate pass one remark. He thought it must have been in the minds of a great many that if they had themselves lived in the middle ages, and had followed decent pursuits, they must have been monks. He was perfectly certain that he should have been a monk himself; and a friend near him, of tastes by no means ecclesiastical, had agreed that he also must have been a monk if he had lived in those past times. He did not know, however, that he had realised all that a monastic life involved. The idea of having to lie at full length on a cold stone floor! He had often thought how frightfully the monks must have suffered from rheumatism. He should have been pleased to occupy himself in the charming work of sitting in the carrels, illuminating manuscripts and copying books, but he believed the monks used to sit with their legs swathed in straw, and that, though it was no doubt exceedingly comfortable under the circumstances, was at the same time excessively unpicturesque. Referring to Canon Lyttelton's concluding remarks, he said he thought Canon Lyttelton had in the establishment and carrying on of the Society shown the most noble absence of selfishness. He had never himself come forward at all, and he, if anybody, ought to come forward and give three lectures. He (the speaker) was never at more trouble in his life than he was in getting up the lecture which he had given; and he had no doubt that, with all Professor Westcott's powers and knowledge, the lecture given that evening had cost considerable trouble. If any gentleman present undertook to give a respectable kind of lecture to the Society, he (the speaker) could only congratulate him if he did not find a great deal of trouble in his task. The Society must look to Canon Lyttelton for a lecture. In conclusion, Mr. Parry said it was intended to conclude the series of lectures by a conversazione, and he invited anyone who possessed any relics of the cathedral, or of the religious houses of the

city or county, kindly to remember that it was desired to make the meeting as interesting and profitable as possible. He very cordially seconded the vote of thanks to Professor Westcott for his lecture, which was characterised by an enormous amount of information and magnificent eloquence.

The vote having been carried with applause,

PROFESSOR WESTCOTT, in responding, said that when he received his invitation from Canon Lyttelton to deliver a lecture to the Society he had no conception that he should have met such an audience as that present, or that he should have heard the kind words which the Bishop had been pleased to apply to his work with his lordship in past years, and which other speakers had spoken of him that evening. He congratulated the founder of the Society on the results which had attended his efforts, and also congratulated the Society upon the zeal it had shown in its work, which was a work worth doing. He could not say it was an easy thing for him to come down to deliver the lecture : he had to sacrifice a good many duties and other works ; but, still, the claim upon him was one which he felt to be a fair one. Gloucester Cathedral was sister to his own cathedral at Peterborough, being connected with it by its founder and saint. He felt it to be a duty to do any little he might be able to further a work which had in it, he believed, a great power for good. From his heart he believed in cathedrals, and, if he might join the two together, he believed in architecture. Nowhere else, he believed, could they find the thoughts of the middle ages so beautifully and legibly expressed as in their buildings. It was his happiness, when spending two short hours that morning in going through the cathedral, to see what enthusiasm it inspired in those who lived in its precincts. All the citizens of Gloucester had it in their power to catch that inspiration, for every part of the building was eloquent. He wondered how many knew the story of the vaulting of the nave. In the " Chronicle of Gloucester," he found it recorded that in a certain year the monks, with their own hands and by their strenuous industry, vaulted the nave, not seeking, as was commonly the case, the assistance of foreign builders. The vaulting might be criticised, but it was a work of genuine feeling and a mark of the sincere devotion of men who gave their best. It was strange that Gloucester Cathedral happened to join together by an architectural feature the two buildings which were at present most closely connected with his own life. The fan tracery in the lovely vaulting of the cloisters originated in Gloucester ; and the next best example was at Peterborough, while another example, and the last, was in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. This fan tracery was purely English work ; and it was the glory of Gloucester to have commenced it. All these things must speak to them. He imagined it was the object of the Society to learn every lesson it could, and all time would be exhausted before they could learn all that the middle ages spoke in their buildings. Still, the Society

would, he trusted, go on to read the lessons, and then go on to live the lessons.

THE REV. W. BAZELEY announced that it was intended to hold the conversazione, of which Mr. Gambier Parry had spoken, on Thursday in Easter week. The Executive Committee wished to form on that occasion a temporary museum for the exhibition of objects of interest in connection with the history of the cathedral, and they would be much obliged to any persons who would lend such objects.

MR. W. P. PRICE said he, in common with all present, had listened with the greatest interest to the very admirable lecture delivered by Professor Westcott. To those living in the provinces, it was a great privilege to be permitted to listen to the words of a man of Professor Westcott's high reputation, large accomplishments, and great learning. He (the speaker) felt himself in that room not only a visitor but, he might also say, a guest; and he felt, although he had risen at the suggestion of Canon Lyttelton, that it was in a certain measure incumbent upon him, as the only recognition he could make of the sort of hospitality he had received, to move a vote of thanks to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, who had kindly presided on that occasion. They all knew more than was formerly known of the life and labours of a bishop, and they knew more especially of the vast labours so cheerfully and willingly undertaken by the Bishop of this Diocese. They knew how large a share of every work fell upon those who were willing and ready to undertake it; and all knew that the Bishop had himself taken the labouring oar—the largest measure of labour—in connection with that great work which, in his opinion, would shed the brightest lustre upon the age in which it was accomplished: the revision of the New Testament. Knowing, as he (the speaker) did, how deep was the interest the Bishop had felt in that work and how largely he had contributed towards its performance, he could not help feeling the greatest satisfaction in seeing that the Bishop appeared already to show the beneficial effect of the relief he had experienced in the completion of that work. He was sure he felt, and he thought all England must feel, that it owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Bishop for the very important services he had rendered to his country. That was the feeling which was uppermost in his mind when he rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Bishop for presiding over the meeting and sanctioning by his presence the most admirable lecture which Professor Westcott had delivered.

A vote having been carried unanimously,

THE BISHOP, in responding, said it had given him very great pleasure to preside over the meeting, and he congratulated the founder of the Society on the success which had up to the present time been achieved. Alluding to an

error made by Professor Westcott, who had inadvertently spoken of the Bishop as the founder of the Society, his lordship said the Professor forgot for the moment that the office of a bishop was to be a visitor, and his relation to the Society was, alas! but that of a visitor. He would, indeed, rejoice if he could claim to be the founder of the Society. He rejoiced from his heart at being present that evening, and from his heart he congratulated his good and very energetic friend, Canon Lyttelton. One sentence of Professor Westcott's, in which he alluded to the continuity of the life of our institutions, did awaken in his mind an odd thought. He (the speaker) actually exercised, a few years ago, the right of some dignified predecessor of his, some mitred abbot. It happened that a living in this diocese had been long associated with one of the archdeaconries. It was desirable that the parish should be separated from the office of archdeacon. The rule—whether it was in some original deed, or whether it was the result of some legal interpretation—was that in case of a separation the patronage of the living should revert to the representative of the one who had originally given the living. The one who had originally given the living in question was some grand abbot who had presided often in that Chapter-room, and who stood perhaps where his spare representative was now standing, with some poor monk lying on the floor beneath, and brawny arms applying to him instruments of torture. Whoever this good abbot might have been, he (the speaker) claimed to be his representative, and he presented to the living. He dared say, if the incident had become publicly known, some interdict from high quarters might have reached him. However, with all Christian boldness, he claimed to be the lineal spiritual representative of that great personage of the past; and he presented a valued friend to the living. He would not mention his friend's name, for prudential reasons; his friend still held the position, and long might he continue to do so, for he was one of the most hard-working of the clergy of the diocese. So old and new things were linked together. He again congratulated all present on having heard one of the most agreeable, stirring, eloquent—and, at the same time, one of the most pathetic—lectures he ever had the pleasure of listening to; and, in conclusion, he wished his hearers a fair good night.

The proceedings then terminated.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Monday, March 5th, the REV. W. BAZELEY was invited to undertake the editorship of the Society's transactions, and he consented to do so.

MR. WALLER laid before the Committee an excellent guide of two pages, which he had prepared with much trouble and at great expense, for the use of visitors to the Cathedral. He said that he intended to sell it at the nominal price of one penny. The Committee thanked Mr. Waller very heartily for his valuable assistance.

The conversazione, of which notice had been given on the occasion of Canon Westcott's lecture, was at first fixed for Thursday, March 29th, and it was hoped that Canon Lyttelton, the founder of the Cathedral Society, would be present; but on Thursday, March 22nd, tidings reached Gloucester of Canon Lyttelton's dangerous illness, causing the deepest anxiety to his friends. The Executive Committee therefore determined, with the approval of the Dean and Canon Harvey, to postpone the conversazione until a more satisfactory account should be received.

For some weeks previous to this time, a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. J. H. Billett, H. W. Bruton, W. Byard, T. H. Chance, K. H. Fryer, J. Hunt, H. Medland, J. P. Moore, G. Whitcombe, J. P. Wilton, and the hon. secretaries, the Revs. W. Bazeley and B. K. Foster, had been assisting the Executive Committee by obtaining promises of objects of interest for the proposed exhibition.

Two letters, from the Rev. W. Bazeley, were kindly inserted by the editors of the *Gloucestershire Chronicle* and *Gloucester Journal* in their respective newspapers, asking for the loan of charters, deeds, drawings, engravings, portraits, and other objects of interest illustrating the history of St. Peter's Abbey and the Cathedral. It was pointed out that the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's were the patrons of some seventy livings in Gloucestershire and elsewhere; that they possessed more than forty reputed manors, besides other large estates which were not manorial; and that there were priories or cells, in connection with the Abbey, at Bromfield, Hereford, Ewenny, Ewyas Harold, Kilpeck, and Leonard Stanley. Views or papers relating to these livings, possessions, or cells, would be most valuable in illustrating the history of the Cathedral.

The Executive Committee held a meeting on Wednesday, March 28th, under the presidency of CANON TINLING, and decided that, as there were more favourable accounts of Canon Lyttelton's health, it was desirable to arrange for the conversazione to be held at an early date. Many contributions had been already received, and there was little chance of Canon Lyttelton being present even if the conversazione were postponed for several months. It was, therefore, fixed for Thursday, April 5th; and a sub-committee, consisting of Mr. H. W. Bruton, Mr. J. Kemp, Mr. Gambier Parry, Mr. F. S. Waller, and the Revs. W. Bazeley and B. K. Foster, was appointed to make all the necessary arrangements. The work was allotted and zealously carried out as follows:—

Mr. Waller directed the Cathedral workmen in preparing the Chapter Room for the exhibition and conversazione; Mr. Kemp made an interesting collection of paintings of the Cathedral in oils and water colours; Mr. H. W. Bruton collected and arranged a large number of early engravings, most

of which—and certainly those of the greatest value—came from his own portfolios; Mr. Gambier Parry hung the oil paintings and water colours; Mr. Foster, with the kind assistance of several ladies, arranged for the refreshments in the house adjoining the Little Cloisters, which had once formed part of the conventual buildings; Mr. Bazeley, with the help of the Rev. S. R. Majendie, the Cathedral librarian, made a selection from the charters and other valuable documents and books relating to the Abbey and Cathedral, which he found in the library; and, as editor, he drew up an annotated list of some of the exhibits.

The REV. G. JAMES gave very valuable assistance to the Committee by writing to the Bishop of Bath and Wells; to Mr. Hooper, of Worcester; and to other gentlemen and ladies, to ask for the loan of pictures for the exhibition.

The weather had been exceedingly wintry, and it was feared that the guests might find the Cathedral cloisters very cold. This would doubtless have been the case if the conversazione had been held on the day first named; but, during the following week, spring weather supervened, and no inconvenience was experienced.

On the evening of Thursday, April 5th, the Chapter House was thrown open to the subscribers at seven o'clock, and was rapidly filled. The walls were hung with pictures and engravings; and cases, containing valuable MSS. and books, were placed on each side of the raised dais at the east end of the building. A list of the exhibits, as far as it has been found possible to catalogue them, will be found in these "Records."

The proceedings commenced, at eight o'clock, with a few remarks from the REV. DOUGLAS TINLING, Canon in residence, who formally requested Sir William V. Guise, Bart., the appointed president, to take the chair. Canon Tinling said that the conversazione had been postponed for a reason which they would one and all regret: the serious illness of Canon Lyttelton, who, he was glad to hear, was somewhat better. The thanks of the Society were due to the Mayor and Corporation for the loan of official documents; to Mr. Waller and Mr. Gambier Parry; and especially to their secretaries, Mr. Bazeley and Mr. Foster. As it was desired that the exhibition should be seen by all who took an interest in the Cathedral, it would be open during parts of the following day to those who would procure free tickets of admission from Mr. Nest, the Society's printer.

SIR W. V. GUISE then took the chair, and proceeded to read a paper on "The Historical Monuments of the Cathedral," which is printed in these "Records."

At the request of the Executive Committee, MR. C. L. WILLIAMS, the

Cathedral organist, had arranged for a performance of anthems by Messieurs Cooke, Evans, Thomas, and several other members of the Cathedral choir. Mr. Williams had kindly prepared "Some notes on the changes in Church music since the Reformation," and had selected anthems to illustrate these changes. Mr. Williams' paper and the words of the anthems, are given in full in the following pages.

After a performance of anthems by the choir, SIR WILLIAM GUISE called upon MR. F. W. WALLER to read a short paper (which had been prepared by MR. F. S. WALLER) on "The Norman work in the Cathedral." Mr. Waller's paper was beautifully illustrated by three diagrams, given by the aid of lime-light: I. A bird's-eye view of the Cathedral, showing the old Norman edifice as it would appear if the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular work were stripped off; II. An illustration of the method by which the Norman work was masked by the 14th century builders; III. A photograph of a drawing (by Mr. F. S. Waller) showing the relative sizes of the Cathedral and other Church towers of Gloucester.

After a second performance by the choir, SIR WILLIAM GUISE invited the guests to partake of tea and coffee, &c., which had been prepared in the house adjoining the Little Cloisters. He also called especial attention to the collection of architectural drawings which Mr. F. S. Waller had contributed to the exhibition.

On the re-assembling of the party, CANON TINLING—who occupied the chair in the absence of Sir W. Guise—requested MR. BAZELEY to read a paper, on "The Register of Abbot Parker," which is printed in these "Records."

After a third performance of anthems, the CHAIRMAN asked MR. J. D. T. NIBLETT to read his paper, on "Royal Badges and Coats of Arms in the Cathedral." This was illustrated by some interesting sketches of heraldic bearings, made by Mr. Niblett.

The rendering of two anthems, by *Goss* and *Wesley*, and the national anthem, closed the proceedings.

The thanks of the Society are due to all the ladies and gentlemen who lent objects for exhibition; to Mr. Abraham Booth for the loan of timber for hanging the pictures; and to the officials of the Cathedral for their courtesy and valuable assistance.

The Editor gratefully acknowledges the use he has made of the able reports of the meetings of the Society, made by the *Gloucestershire Chronicle* and the *Gloucester Journal*.

GLOUCESTER: ITS ABBEY AND CATHEDRAL, AND THEIR PLACE IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

By E. A. FREEMAN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.

YOU will perhaps remember the proverb—which possibly some people may think irreverent, but which still expresses a truth, and which used to be an ancient saying—the proverb, “As sure as God’s in Gloucestershire.” The proverb I believe had its origin in the great number of religious houses in this county—in this city especially, and in the county at large. But that is not peculiar to Gloucestershire. Gloucestershire is a part of a greater whole. You must take the lower Severn land altogether; you must take Gloucestershire and Worcestershire together, and between them you will certainly find a collection of great religious houses, which only two parts of England can have any pretensions to rival. One of these is Yorkshire, and the other is the Fen-land.

The fame of Yorkshire in the matter of monasteries rests mainly on those monasteries that have vanished, on those which are ruined, on those beautiful Cistercian houses which have now passed away, and which never had any important part in English history: which are now ruined, and remain only as picturesque objects. If I were to ask about the great Yorkshire abbeys, I suspect very few would head the list with the greatest among them, and the one which is still pretty nearly perfect—very few, I say, would head the list of Yorkshire abbeys with the abbey of Selby. Because somehow people seem to fancy that every abbey is a ruin, and that every ruin is an abbey. At all events, the fame of Yorkshire rests upon ruined abbeys, and abbeys which for the most part filled no very important place in history.

It is in the Fen-land that this Severn land had its real rival. There you have Ely, Peterborough, Thornley, Crowland, Ramsey, and several others ; a crowd of great religious houses which will rival or surpass those that lie along this valley of the Avon ; and on the whole I doubt if it would be quite wise to put Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Worcester on a level with Ely and Peterborough. But, on the other hand, remember that in that land they have drawn so little from nature that they had a special necessity to draw upon art. You are placed in one of the fairest of the lands of England, along the Severn valley, and in this land of Gloucester and Worcester you have your Cotswolds, and Malvern Hills. They looked down upon the path along which Godwin marched to the deliverance of England, and on the battle-fields where Earl Simon met his death. In the Fen-land the historic associations are equal, but we have no Cotswolds, no Malverns, no hills, no great rivers, that anybody can see,—rivers enough, but you cannot tell which way they are running. These are the features which surround those great monasteries which have arisen on the land which beheld the last great advance in the days of Ethelbert.

I cannot say of your land as I might perhaps at Lincoln, or perhaps at Durham, quoting the words of Virgil:

“Congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis” ;¹

but I may fairly say

“Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem
Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.”²

In this part of England you have your great Severn and its great tributaries, the two Avons ; you have the Avon which flows by the minster of Evesham and the minster of Tewkesbury, and you have that other Avon which flows by the healing founts of Bath and by the great merchant city of Bristol. You have your Severn, which passed, as long as they stood, the ancient walls of Worcester and the ancient walls of Gloucester. I say that this city and land of yours is part of a greater whole.

¹ Georgicon lib. ii. 156

² *Ibid.* ii., 155,7

From my point of view, I cannot separate the land of Gloucester from the land of Worcester. They form part of one of those principalities by the union of which England was formed. They formed the old land of the Hwiccas, which had its own kings and then its own Ealdormen, till they were swallowed up in the kingdom of Mercia; and the kingdom of Mercia was afterwards swallowed up in the kingdom of England.

But mark that this Severn land, though it became Mercian very early, was originally West Saxon land. It was not by the Mercians but by the West Saxons that this land of the Severn and the two Avons was first won from the Britons. It was by the great victory at Deorham, won by Ceawlin in 577 A.D. that this land in which we stand became English. Three cities were taken—three “chesters”—Bathan-ceaster, Ciren-ceaster, and Glou-ceaster. You will recognise in these towns Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester. Each of these had its own king; the kings were slain, and the three cities—the three chesters—were taken, and this lower land of the Severn became part of the possession of the English folk. This land which was thus won for the English folk reached as far south as the Axe, but there is a difference in the fate of the land south of the Avon and the fate of the land north of the Avon. South of the Avon the land remained part of the West Saxon land; north of the Avon it passed away and became part of the kingdom of Mercia.

I said that in this district a remarkable number of great monasteries sprang up. Mark the distinction between those towns in which the monastery is older than the town, and those in which the town is older than the monastery. There is a parallel in wider districts. In some parts the ecclesiastical division is older than the civil, and in others the civil division is older than the ecclesiastical. Now here the old ecclesiastical division is older than the civil. The diocese of Worcester is older than the two shires of Gloucester and Worcester. On the other hand, the shire of Gloucester is older than the diocese of Gloucester. That is to say, the ecclesiastical division followed the lead of the civil division, and the kingdom of the Hwiccas

became the diocese of Worcester. The land of the Hwiccas was then divided into the two shires of Gloucester and Worcester. It went further than those two shires, but we are most concerned with those. The old kingdom was divided into two shires. Therefore I cannot pay to our chairman to-night the compliment which I have sometimes paid to the nobleman who occupies his place in my own county. I have before now ventured to address the Lord Lieutenant of Somerset as the Ealdorman of his county ; but I cannot address the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire as Ealdorman of the Hwiccas, because he is only Ealdorman of half of them, the Lord Lieutenant of Worcester being equally Lord Lieutenant of the other half. The old kingdom was cut into two shires, but it still remained one diocese. Long after, in the reign of Henry VIII., the ecclesiastical divisions again conformed to the civil, and the two shires became two dioceses—with the little accident, as I may say, at the very end of the shire, that one great city (that of Bristol) had won for itself such complete independence that it became a county of itself. I know perfectly well that Gloucester is also a county of itself; but still the county of the city of Gloucester, surrounded as it is by the county of Gloucester, and being in everything the head of the county of Gloucester, cannot maintain that separate existence which the county of Bristol, situated between Gloucester and Somerset, and forming part of neither, can maintain. So as the county of Worcester became the new diocese of Worcester, and the county of Gloucester became the new diocese of Gloucester, the county and city of Bristol—with a very strange addition, the county of Dorset—became the new diocese of Bristol.

Here, then, the shires are younger than the old dioceses, though they are older than the newer. If you cross the border into Wessex, it is the other way. The shires are older than the dioceses, because there the shires were principalities which formed themselves gradually, and, having once been separate states, they kept on their existence as counties; whereas here there is every reason to believe that the old divisions of Mercia were swept away at the time of its conquest, and that new divisions were mapped

out ; and in this corner it is possible they were mapped out by Alfred himself, which may have originated the old fable of Alfred having mapped out the whole of England into shires. At all events, the Mercian land was mapped out into new shires, while the West Saxon land kept the old divisions as they had been from the beginning. I found that out by remarking that in Somerset we have perpetual disputes as to the gaols, and as to what are the proper places at which to hold the Assizes and Sessions. There is no one capital : no one undoubted centre of Somerset. This city of Gloucester is the one undoubted centre of the county of Gloucester : it always has been so. The shire bears the name of the city, and if you cast your eye over the map you will find that throughout Mercia the shire bears the name of the town, and the town forms the convenient centre of the county. Mercia evidently has been mapped out with reference to towns. In Wessex we know nothing about towns as the centres of counties ; assizes, sessions, elections, and everything else being held in different places, as happens to be convenient. The one is comparatively a modern department ; the other an ancient principality which has been from the beginning.

Now I come more especially to your own city of Gloucester. Gloucester is one of the three cities, as I said before, conquered by Ceawlin in the great battle in 577 A.D. It then became part of the possession of the English folk.

When I speak of the "city" of Gloucester, I do so advisedly. I know perfectly well that in the charter of Henry VIII., by which the bishopric of Gloucester was founded, the king decreed, among other things, that "the town of Gloucester" should for the future be called "the city of Gloucester"—"villa" is to give place to "*civitas*." It is now understood that every place where there is a bishop's see is a city. According to that rule, we have seen in our own days that as soon as Manchester, St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, and Newcastle become bishops' sees they are presently raised to the rank of cities by royal proclamation. Ripon, I believe, crept in unawares and made itself a city, without proclamation or anything else. But in all other cases the doctrine is that every bishop's

see is a city, and that any town to which a bishop is appointed has an inchoate right to be made a city, and that no other town is a city. That rule was evidently well-established by the time of Henry VIII., or he would not have put in his charter that the town of Gloucester was to become the city of Gloucester.

But I want to know, and I shall be thankful if anyone can tell me, when that rule came in. It is as late as Henry VIII., but not so old as Domesday. Domesday speaks of the city (*civitas*) of Gloucester, which was not then a bishop's see; it also speaks of the city of Shrewsbury, which is not yet a bishop's see; and several other towns which were bishops' sees, such as Wells and Lichfield, it does not call cities. The Domesday distinction seems much more reasonable than the distinction of Henry VIII. and of our own time. I have recently come from America, and there every corporate town is called a city, which certainly multiplies the number of cities very greatly. But still the existence of a municipal government would seem to have more to do with the title of a place to be called a city than the circumstance of there being a bishop's see in the place or not. At all events, in Domesday, and in the works of some writers older and some later than Domesday, I find that "the city of Gloucester" is mentioned, and that other large towns which already had something of a separate being are there freely spoken of as cities, whether they were bishops' sees or not.

When I was speaking recently at Carlisle, I had to point out to them that their city in its present state was one of the very few cities or towns of England which could claim a personal historic founder. The city of Carlisle in its present state, as distinguished from the old Roman and British city which has perished, was the foundation of William Rufus. It was called into being by him after a period of desolation. I can give you no personal historic founder for Gloucester in the same way. You may if you like claim Glovi, or you may if you please claim Claudius. You may if you think fit claim any particular duke to be the founder of Gloucester. You may, if you wish to do so, choose Tiberius Claudius Cæsar; or, while you are about it, why not spring over

a couple of centuries and take a much more eminent and creditable founder, Claudius Gothicus ? The name of the city, of course, is originally British. I don't know if any British friends are here present, or they might tell us something more of the exact meaning of the word "Gleow," the British form of the name which an old legend has created and turned into the name of Claudius. You will find rather a pretty story about Arvifragus having called the city in honour of Claudius, but that Claudius having become father of a son by a British woman, preferred that it should be called by the name of the son, who somehow came to have the name of Glovi; and the mother of Glovi, so the legend goes on to say, Claudius took with him to Rome, for he had no other queen. How Agrippina and the other wives whom he had before this were so coolly wiped out, I don't profess to say. But according to the legend, this Glovi was the only child of Claudius, and the mother his only queen. I suspect the back of any Roman would be rather up, to have any British woman calling herself *Regina*, coming so dangerously near to the masculine *Rex*.

You may put that aside, and another person also. In Geoffrey of Monmouth you will find mention of "*fortissimus dux Claudius*," which I suppose refers to a duke of Gloucester whose name is Eldol. There is an old chronicle of British conquests written in Latin hexameters, and in this chronicle the last letter of his name is changed, and he takes the name of a person of very great eminence a generation or two back. We read of a *consul fortissimus Eldon Claudiocestrensis*. The word "*consul*" is used in that sense of *consul* in which it is equivalent to "earl." We should not have expected to find the epithet *fortissimus* so much as *peritissimus*. Eldol fights manfully in the story ; he, a Briton and a Celt, one of the old people of the land. In the legend, it appears that Eldol has the presumption to kill Hengest. I don't think you can make that agree with a certain chronicle, according to which Hengest had too much to do in the way of fighting in Kent to come near and trouble any duke or *consul* of Gloucester.

But I can throw aside your mythical duke and give you a real British king, Coinnagil. Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester

in 577 each had its separate British king ; and we, the English people—the West Saxon people—went and did very much as the Hebrews did on entering Canaan. As we did unto Bath and her king, so we did unto Cirencester and her king ; as we did unto Cirencester and her king, so we did unto Gloucester and her king. We made a clean sweep of the kings.

But the question is, did we or did we not make a clean sweep of the cities ? With regard to Bath, I find Mr. Earle has distinctly proved that Bath remained desolate exactly as Chester and Deva and Caerleon-on-Usk remained desolate for 300 years from this overthrow by *Æthelfrith*, till set up again by a lady of the Mercians. Mr. Earle will give you a poem about a ruin which I think he has distinctly shown refers to Bath. But did Gloucester lie desolate in the same way ? I have no evidence either way. There are examples both ways. Did the Roman walls of Gloucester lie empty for a season, as the Roman walls of Deva did for 300 years : as the Roman walls of Anderida remain to this day ? Go into Sussex, to Pevensey, and you will see the walls with no inhabitants within them. Did Glevum or did it not remain empty ? I cannot answer. There may be some local evidence one way or other. The evidence of general history does not enable me to say whether it did or did not. I can say that if Caer Gleow did lie desolate for a season, it was set up again within 100 years.

Fifty years after the first English conquest, this land, there can be little doubt, passed from Wessex to Mercia. It was ceded to Penda after a battle at Cirencester and a treaty. By the treaty it is pretty plain that this land passed from Wessex to Mercia, and it was ceded to Penda by the West Saxon kings, Cwichelm and Cynegils. Cwichelm, who ceded this land to Mercia, was not the pious Cwichelm who was some years afterwards bishop, and first king of the West Saxons. He was the unregenerate ruler who in his unregenerate mind sent an assassin with poison to murder the Northumbrian Bretwalda, Edwin. Whatever time this city was under West Saxon rule was a time of heathen dominion. It was on West Saxon land that this land was won

for the English folk, but it was not till it had become a Mercian land that it was won for the Christian church.

Towards the end of the seventh century we find this land of the Hwiccas Christianised. The great Mercian kingdom was divided, and a separate bishopric of the Hwiccas was founded, with a bishop's stool, at Worcester, in 680 A.D. Now, mark you, the bishop now takes his title not from the city but from the land, or rather from the tribe. He is not Bishop of Worcester, but Bishop of the Hwiccas. But he has a bishop's stool and his special chair in the church ; his special home in some particular spot, and that spot was Worcester. It was not the system which obtains on the mainland of Europe, where a bishop is strictly the bishop of a city, and the extent of the diocese is measured by the old Roman jurisdiction of the city. Here the bishop is bishop of the land, and especially of the tribe. I suspect the bishop's stool was fixed at Worcester, and Worcester became the spiritual head over the Hwiccas for the very reason that Gloucester was the temporal head. Certainly when the different cities of England come to play their part in English history, we find that Gloucester plays a much more important temporal part than Worcester. I feel pretty sure that Gloucester was the temporal head of the old kingdom of the Hwiccas, and it was perhaps for that very reason that Worcester became the spiritual head.

Almost immediately after the foundation of the bishop's church at Worcester, a church—probably not the first church, but seemingly the first of any great dignity—rose here in Gloucester. That was the church founded by the Ealdorman Under-king, Osric, who was under certain homage or devotion to Ethelred, Over-king of the Mercians. He founded the abbey of Gloucester, of which the rulers were undoubtedly abbesses, but as to what their subjects were—whether they were nuns or monks—I don't profess to say. It is one of the anomalies of our old ecclesiastical institutions—an anomaly which perhaps some people might think is quite as apparent in many modern institutions—that instances may be found of female heads bearing rule over male subjects. There were abbesses at Gloucester, and it is

perfectly possible that they may have had rule over monks, or over nuns, or both. At any rate, they were ladies of great dignity, and ladies of royal houses, especially Eadburga, the widow of Wulfere, a great conquering king of the Mercians. The last of the abbesses bears a strange name, Eva, which I can make nothing out of.

To these abbesses succeeded secular priests, in 823 A.D., the founder being a Mercian king, Beornwulf. He founded this order in 823, at a perilous moment of his life, for that was the very time that he was overthrown at Ellandune. The secular priests lasted 200 years.

Now we are coming nearer to the beginning of the place in which we are now met. We have not reached this place; we are, as it were, feeling our way towards it. In 1022 A.D., in the reign of King Canute, by the agency of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, the secular priests of St. Peter's, Gloucester, were changed into Benedictine monks: a change which took place about the same time—in some places earlier, in some later—in a great number of cathedrals and other great churches of England.

Now please to distinguish three different Wulfstans, because there are three people of the name who have something to do with Gloucester in the 11th century. There is this bishop, who with the Bishopric of Worcester held the Archbishopric of York, as one or two of his predecessors had done; there is Wulfstan, the second abbot of this place; and there is St. Wulfstan, a holy monk, Bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095. Thus you have three men of the same name, all of them having something to do with this place. The first is diocesan bishop and founder of the abbey, the second is himself abbot, and the third is a bishop of the diocese.

The first Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop, placed monks in the old minster at Gloucester. Now, why was it called the "old" minster? Because since the foundation of Osric another minster had arisen; *Æthelflæd*, a lady of the

Mercians, had founded a minster in honour of St. Oswald, who murdered the Northumbrian Bretwalda. The lady was buried there herself in 918.¹ So that alongside of the old minster there had sprung up a new minster. This was the old minster, and the first abbot in the chair calls it by a prettier name still : he calls himself abbot of "the old home." This old home of St. Peter's had passed away for a time to the newer home of St. Oswald's.²

During the 10th and 11th centuries, Gloucester becomes the scene of a great number of most important events in English history. It is at Gloucester that the glorious Æthelstan died in 940. Æthelflæd, dying in her fortress of Tamworth, was brought to Gloucester for burial. Her nephew died at Gloucester, and his body, so Malmesbury people say, was carried to Malmesbury for burial.

Then 70 years later, after a year of battles—a year of fighting between Canute and Edmund—the dispute is brought to a settlement at Alney, an island of the Severn, where the competitors met, some say in conference and some in battle ; but I think Mr. Earle distinctly proves that there was a conference here, the result of which was that the kingdom was for a moment divided.

Then for the rest of that century Gloucester appears as one of the three great meeting places of the kingdom. We cannot

¹ The Saxon chronicle, B.C.D., says :—“ A.D. 918, Æthelflæd died at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer, the eighth year of her having rule and right lordship over the Mercians ; and her body lies at Gloucester, within the east porch of St. Peter's Church.”—ED.

² Dr. Freeman refers to the following cirograph of Edric, the first abbot :—

Ego Edricus, abbas in Ealdanham, notifico et declaro in hoc cirographo, quod ego, mea magna necessitate, tradidi cuidam Stamarcto terras de Hegberleo, et de Beccwirde, de dominio ecclesiae quoad vixerit ; et hoc feci pro ejusdem placita pecunia mihi pro xv. libris, quibus redemi omnia alia prædia monasterii ab illa magna heregeldi exactione, qua per totam Angliam fuit. Testes horum sunt, Wolstanus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et Lessius episcopus Wyorniensis, Aglaf comes, et tota congregatio veteris monasterii, et Anna abbas, et omnes fratres monasterii Sancti Oswaldi, et Wihiaside præfectus, et tota civitas Gloucestræ, et multi alii tam angli quam Dani. Quare si forisfecerit ille qui terram tenet, de se, et de suo emendet : terra autem sit libera, et iterum, monasterio reddatur post mortem ejus.

Acta sunt haec anno ab Incarnatione Domini circiter millesimo vicesimo secundo, tempore Cnuti regis.

Historia Monasterii S. Petri, Gloucestricw, vol. I., p. 9.—ED.

say that then the kingdom had any one capital. The king holds his court, and calls his people together, in various places. During the greater part of the 11th century, three places are marked out at which assemblies are held, at the three great feasts of the church. If the king wears his crown, if he calls his people together for the Easter feast at Winchester, for the pentecostal feast at Westminster, he no less surely calls them to the mid-winter feast at Gloucester. When there was no one capital, it is plain that the most convenient arrangement was to have the national assembly in turn at different parts of the kingdom. The north seems to have been left in the cold altogether. They never seem to have taken the trouble to go up and hold an assembly at York. But, in the southern and central parts of England, you will easily see that Winchester, Westminster, and Gloucester were the three places conveniently chosen as centres for the different parts of the kingdom. And so some of the most important meetings in our early history were held at Gloucester.

Perhaps the most memorable time of all is the meeting of 1051. I have tried to set forth in another place the story how when Count Eustace of Bologne comes to King Edward at Gloucester, to make his complaint of the grievous wrong that some of the English burghers at Dover had committed in not choosing to have foreign soldiers forced upon them and quartered in their houses; how the Count comes to Gloucester to complain to this court of the wrong; how the king tells Earl Godwine to go and punish with fire and sword the men who have been so presumptuous as not to allow the followers of a foreign prince to quarter themselves upon them; and how Godwine answers that no man in his earldom shall be punished till he has been tried and convicted. It was not so far from Gloucester, within your shire, at Beverstone, that that patriot earl and his sons came down with a force from Wessex and from East Anglia to meet the king and his barons. The earls gathered themselves together in Gloucester. That great meeting was held in your city.

Two years later, Godwine has again gone into banishment; he has come back; he is restored by the people of England to his

own power. While he was away we find the Welsh ravaging the land. When he comes back, at another meeting in Gloucester orders are sent out for the beheading of a troublesome Welsh prince; and before the assembly has left Gloucester the head is brought to the king.

Two years later again, Ralph was defeated by the Welsh, because he insisted on making Englishmen—who were used to fighting on foot—fight on horseback, like the French. It was here at Gloucester that Earl Harold made his trysting place to go out and avenge this injury; to burn the Welsh prince's palace, and to re-found the palace at Hereford which the Welsh had burnt and overthrown.

Seven years later again, at Gloucester, measures are taken for a great campaign of Harold against the Welsh, which finally brings the Welsh into subjection to the king.

Nor did the Norman conquest make any difference whatever with regard to the position of Gloucester. We find it holding as great a place under William the Great and under William the Red as under Edward the Confessor. I suppose that Gloucester and Gloucestershire could not have been conquered till after the taking of Exeter, in 1068. But the city would seem not to have been taken by storm. A certain amount of destruction was caused by the building of a castle, but an amount of destruction far less than in Oxford and several other towns; and during the whole of the reign of the Conqueror the Gloucester assemblies go on.

One very important law—a law which said that Frenchmen who had settled in England were to have the same rights and the same liabilities as Englishmen—was passed at an assembly held at Gloucester. That law was a very important one. It goes right into the teeth of romantic fictions like “Ivanhoe,” and other books which speak about the vast separation, the abiding distinction, between the conquering and conquered races in England. Here, in the reign of the Norman conqueror, who is supposed to hate everything English—laws and everything else—

in his reign a law is passed that the Frenchmen who have settled in the land in his predecessors' time are not to be a superior race to Englishmen, but to have exactly the same position as Englishmen.

But a greater law than that was passed at Gloucester. In the great assembly of 1085, the king wears his crown, and holds his court for five days. The archbishop held his separate synod for three days, and then the king had "deep speech with his Witan." Now, if you look for a moment at that "deep speech," and translate the words into French, you simply get the word "*parle-ment*." "He had 'deep speech' with his Witan"; that is, in modern phrase, he held a parliament. That parliament passed one of the most memorable acts that any parliament ever passed. It gave to the king an account of his land; "how it was peopled or by what men; then sent he his men all over England, into every shire," and caused to be ascertained what each man had. And, the chronicler says, "it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do, not an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ; and all the writings were brought to him afterwards." That writ was Domesday. This interesting chronicler regrets the order made; but that precious record is one of the unique things we have in England. No other land has anything to set against our English record; nothing to set against our Domesday book. It was here in Gloucester, in the Christmas of 1085, that the making of Domesday was ordered.

We go on to the reign of William Rufus. In 1088, came the great revolt. Some of your local histories make a burning of Gloucester in 1087. I can find no authority for that. The city of Gloucester, and, above all, the church of Gloucester, seems to have been a kind of Salamander: it lived in fire, and seems to have been strengthened by fire. The church and city were always being burnt down, and did not seem any the worse for the burning. I began to reckon up the burnings of Gloucester till they were beyond my power of reckoning; I should have wanted a Cocker or a Colenso to help one keep count. But I think I can strike out one burning from the number. I don't

think there was any burning in 1087 or 1088. That negative fact is very important. That was the year of the great rebellion, and we know what was done at that time at Berkeley and Worcester. I should think that if there had been a burning of Gloucester we should have had some record of it. I will show you in a minute or two why that negative fact, that we have no record of the burning of Gloucester, is important. We know that in 1092 we have that great assembly when the archbishopric was vacant; when Anselm was over here in England; when all men's minds were wondering whether there ever would be an archbishop again; when the Witan adopted that extraordinary vote, praying that God would move the king's heart to appoint another archbishop, and the king answered: "You may pray as you please, and I shall do as I please." Next year, early in the year, we find the Red King falling sick at Olveston, at no very great distance from this. He is brought to Gloucester, doubtless to his royal house, for better quarters. He is sick and repents, and the staff is thrust into the unwilling hands of Anselm. There, in some chair in Gloucester, most likely in the old minster itself, the ceremony of Anselm's installation is gone through.

From the same place, the repentant Rufus had sent to King Malcolm, and summoned him to Gloucester to talk over the matters in dispute between them. That is Rufus sick and repentant, and willing to do justice to his great vassal and neighbour. But by August he is well again and no longer repentant, and, when Malcolm comes, Rufus is so puffed up with pride that he will not see him.

Again in Gloucester, in the winter of the same year, 1093, the messengers of Robert, the Duke of the Normans, who was afterwards buried in the minster, come to challenge the king of the English, and here a resolution is passed for the invasion of Normandy, which takes place in the next year, 1094. I have said that in my own particular time, the time I have had most to do with—in the reign of William Rufus—almost everything that happened at all somehow contrived to happen at Gloucester.

Last of all, in that same reign, conceive one memorable scene. Picture to yourselves the new minster, imagine the fervour of devotion at the great work having been brought perhaps to its end, at all events to some very important stage. Imagine an eloquent preacher from a distance, the Abbot of Shrewsbury. Mounting the pulpit and exhorting the people, he falls into a strain of prophetic denunciation which almost reminds one of the prophecies concerning Gilboa. He speaks from the words, "The Lord's bow is drawn; His arrow shall not fail of His mark." That was the 1st of August, 1100. On the 2nd day of August, the Lord's bow was drawn, and the arrow did not fail of its mark, for on that day King William the Red was shot in the New Forest. You may connect these things how you please. I can only tell the story as I find it. You may say that the abbot's sermon stirred up some one to shoot the king, or you may say that the fact that the king was shot gave birth to a legend putting such a warning as that into the mouth of the abbot; I can only tell the story as I find it.

At Gloucester again, about the same time, a gallant monk was dreaming, and he dreamed a terrible vision concerning the king. The monk told the dream to Serlo, who told it to the king; but his majesty refused to hearken, and went into the New Forest hunting, and there he was shot. It was in Gloucester, more than in any other place, that the Red King gathered his assemblies and showed his pride of kingship; it was from Gloucester that the warning voice came which foretold his death.

I have spoken of a newly-consecrated minster at Gloucester. It was in 1100 that a church was consecrated which at least contained some—and I am inclined to think contained a great part—of the church that is now standing.

Let us go back a short time. Abbot Wulfstan went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died there, and in 1072 Serlo was appointed abbot. He did not come into office by the deprivation of his predecessor; the abbacy was fairly vacant by Abbot Wulfstan having gone to Jerusalem.

It was this Serlo who began the church which now stands.

There had been at least two churches before it. There was the church of Osric, of which I can tell you nothing except that it contained an altar. In 1058, a new church was built by the Bishop of Worcester, and was consecrated. Does it not strike you as a remarkable thing that, if a church is built and consecrated in 1058, only thirty-one years after the church should need to be rebuilt? Here comes in the great question as to the change in architecture which took place in the 11th century. I will not argue the whole thing over again. I need not say anything more against those who think that all the Saxons lived at the same time, and who seem to think that between the years 449 and 1066 there happened no time at all. I need not again dispute with people who bring statements about Northumbrian buildings in the 7th century to prove something about West Saxon buildings in the 10th and 11th centuries. I have said all I have to say about that in another place. Anyone who wants to know more of it than I say now I recommend to consult the fifth volume of my work on "The Norman Conquest." I will ask why Serlo thought it advisable, thirty-one years after the consecration of the church, to pull it down and build another? I think I can tell you. During the reign of Edward the Confessor there were two styles of architecture, and two fashions of church building were going on side by side. There was the old English fashion and there was the newly-introduced Norman fashion, of the latter of which there is a good example in the church at Westminster. Why the Norman prelates destroyed the old English churches was simply that they did not think them large enough. The fashion of building churches on an enormous scale came in in this age; and I think the reason why Aldred's church at Gloucester was pulled down was that it followed the old pattern and not the new. It was a comparatively small building, in the primitive Romanesque style: a style then adopted not only in England but also in Germany, Italy, and Burgundy. It was perhaps something like the church at Deerhurst, and Serlo thought it was too small, and pulled it down. That I believe to be the real explanation. The new church at Worcester was not pulled down, because that was built in the new style and on a large scale.

The church, as I have said, was consecrated in 1100. How much was consecrated? Was it merely the eastern end or the whole of the Romanesque portion, or did it include the eastern and western ends: all of the church, indeed, except that part of the western limb, which is manifestly of later date? There is a good deal to be said about that. It is getting so late that I can hardly enter upon the matter now at any great length; but it is very interesting to compare this church with that at Tewkesbury. They were both built at the same time, and they have very much in common, and the same people had a hand in both. Both at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, the eastern limb and the western limb, though in the same style, are built according to different patterns. You can easily see in the eastern limb of this church—although there is a network of Perpendicular work over it—that the piers are very low, and there is a large triforium. In the nave, the piers are of an enormous height, surpassing those of any other church except Tewkesbury, and there is a small triforium and clerestory. In Tewkesbury church, the Norman apse follows the same arrangement as the one at Gloucester: in the nave, the piers are higher even than at Gloucester, and the triforium is yet smaller,—it is, as it were, almost shouldered out of being altogether. The two churches were built at the same time. Gloucester was consecrated in 1100; the monks entered the new minster at Tewkesbury in 1102, and there was a dedication in 1122.

Robert Fitz-Hamon, who was the second founder of Tewkesbury Abbey, was a great benefactor of Gloucester, which he enriched in a manner which gives him not very much credit. He enriched the abbeys of Gloucester and Tewkesbury with the spoils of churches taken in his Welsh conquests. The number of Welsh churches which he gave to these two abbeys is simply amazing. Here, then, you have these two churches with this marked likeness, that they were built at the same time and the same men had a hand in both. Which is the older? The peculiarities of Gloucester are exaggerated at Tewkesbury. Is Tewkesbury an exaggeration of Gloucester, or is Gloucester a toning down of Tewkesbury by someone who liked high piers, but did not like such a small clerestory and triforium. It is

a curious question. I should like to know more of the constructive evidence in the two cases. There is this to be remembered: although the dedication at Tewkesbury took place in 1122, that does not necessarily prove that the church was just finished, and there is in the church, at the extreme west end, a part likely to have been finished last, a most remarkable feature which one would be inclined to place as early as one could. In the west end, in a little turret, just as in the transept at St. Albans, we see those baluster shafts which are one of the signs of primitive work, and one of the features which the new Norman style did not disdain to borrow from the old English style. That is rather an argument in favour of the nave of Tewkesbury as it stands having been completed in 1122. On the whole, although the least bit of direct evidence would settle it either way, till I get that evidence I am inclined to think that Gloucester church was finished about the year 1100.

I cannot find from the Gloucester history, which goes very minutely into these things, anything like a rebuilding of the nave. The chronicle mentions the building of the great tower in 1222, and a dedication in 1239. The former was the year in which so many churches were dedicated, because an order had been sent out two years before that all churches remaining undedicated should be dedicated; and, therefore, Tewkesbury church being dedicated in 1122 does not necessarily prove that it was quite new then. The dedication at Gloucester in 1239 can have nothing to do with the building of the present nave; no one can suppose that a Romanesque nave was new in 1239. I think that dedication has reference to something else. There is an entry of the rebuilding of the central tower in 1232. That involved a rebuilding and refitting of the choir, which could hardly have been done without disturbing the arrangements of the building; and it was these changes which made the consecration of 1239 needful. No one thinks that between the years 1100 and 1222 there is anything that can be said to imply anything like a building of the nave; and therefore I am inclined to think that it was the greater part of the church, including the nave, and not a mere fragment, that was consecrated in 1100. There are parallel cases both ways.

It is true that sometimes a mere fragment of a church was consecrated, but it is equally certain that in other cases the dedication took place when the whole church was completed. I cannot help thinking that, whether the fragment of a church was consecrated or whether the consecration took place when the whole church was finished, depended upon whether the church was a new one or stood on the site of an old one. At Worcester, the new church was erected on a different site from the old one. The same thing happened at Winchester—the new church was on a different site from the old one—and therefore there was no need to have a consecration until the whole of the new church was finished, because the old church could be used. On the other hand, when a new church was built on the same site as the old one, it is manifest that a dedication would take place as soon as the eastern part was fitted up for divine worship.

You see, I have gone but a very little way. I have hardly got clear of the first abbot of Gloucester. Perhaps you will take that as a sign of the greatness of the subject you have laid upon me—take it as a sign that this city and abbey of Gloucester occupy no small space in the history of England. During the space of time in which I have been talking to you, I had hoped to bring the subject down to our own day, whereas I have to shut up with the year 1100, or, at the outside, the year 1122. I do not think I can trouble you any further. I have, at least, made a start. There are a great many other things I should like to say, but I must now stop. I have, at least, done something in starting, and by calling this abbey of Gloucester into being; and although I can get no further, I have, as I have said, done something to show how very great a space both the abbey and the city of Gloucester held in those centuries whose history I know best, and with which I am most immediately concerned. And I know very well that if there is a long story to tell of the 11th century, there is a longer one to tell of the 12th and 13th, and of the 14th and 16th; but that must be told by some other person at some other time, and not by me now.

1

THE BUILDERS AND BUILDINGS
OF
THE ANCIENT ABBEY OF SAINT PETER,
NOW THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

By THOMAS GAMBIER PARRY, Esq., M.A., D.L., &c.

THE estimate of anything from an artist's point of view is apt to vary as much as the minds that make it; and then to share much the same fate from public opinion, by the light and shade cast upon it from every variety of individual taste or opinion. A naturally good taste, helped by a congenial spirit and occupation, is a pleasant possession; but it is a better guide to begin with than to end with, for fine art is a deep well to draw from; it covers a wide space, it penetrates far below the surface of things, and it appeals to a wide range of sympathies, embracing subjects near akin to science and poetry, philosophy and religion. It is this last that has most to do with the arts which have combined to produce these sacred buildings, where architecture, consecrated to its highest purpose, has appropriated, from every art beside, all such elements of religious expression as could contribute to its own completeness.

Such was this great Abbey of St. Peter once complete, as it stood in the fulness of its beauty, its pride of beauty; but troublous times have intervened, and left a wreck. Those who have read the history of such establishments as this have sickened at the repetition of wreck and ruin which has been their fate; devastations by fire and sword, by the irruption of hostile and Pagan tribes, reducing the monasteries and churches to ashes, Christianity itself being all but extinguished; and, to make bad

worse, the fitful wantonness of our own people, whose passions, once aroused, have been like the bursting of a pent-up storm which seems to revel in ruin.

Such was the impulse which now above three hundred years ago swept down, in succeeding tides of desolation, those monuments which, during past centuries, the highest culture, poetry, and religion had produced. Those who raised the storm had their reasons; some high-minded and pure, some base and contemptible; but not so the multitude, for a mob is not actuated by the refinements of religious opinion. It was no nice perception of varieties of faith that aroused their ignorant fanaticism. They had no thought nor wish to change an item of their creed; but it was the resentment of a discontented multitude—discontented, not with their religion, but with their oppressed condition, utilised by the partisans of politics and religion, goaded on by its own sense of injury, injustice, and suffering, and fanned into a flame of destruction by any pretext that could serve the purpose of its unreasoning vengeance. The Church had lorded it over-much: its exactions and its presumption had often pressed hard upon the people. So the day of retribution came; and, as usual, where blind ignorance took part, reform was ruin, and the loss irreparable. And here in this, that once was among the richest and most beautiful of national monuments, bare walls remained, and all that had clothed them with life was no more.

It had been under happier auspices, and in days of a purer faith—now just twelve hundred years ago—that the first Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester had its beginning. It was founded and endowed by kings, and royal dames were its first abbesses. Its buildings stood near those around us. On the north side of the choir of the present cathedral, and next to the high altar, is a monument known as that of the Viceroy Osric, the noble-born friend of Ethelred, the second Christian King of Mercia, by whose authority he founded this abbey. This monument is the tribute of the last abbot to the man who, eight hundred years before, had laid the first stone of the first Abbey of St. Peter. The recumbent figure holds the model of a church, which is interesting as a piece

of archaeological reverence on the part of a 16th century abbot: for the character of its façade, roof, and tower is of the earliest type of Norman work, or even before it. The figure, unworthy of the royal name it bears, is such that the Puritan iconoclast—dealing ruin right and left—passed it by with a smile, that the very ugliness of such a “graven image” saved him the trouble of breaking it.

At the time of the foundation of this abbey (A.D. 681), society was so broken, and private life so harassed by the disturbance of lawlessness and war, that, as Christianity was fast spreading and arousing in men’s minds aspirations for a better mode of life for which no peace was found in their precarious homes, establishments were founded as refuges from the noise and storm around them, and as centres of religious life. Such were those of St. Hilda in the north, of St. Ethelburga in the east, and of Osric in our south-western Gloucester. But within a century the troubles prevailed, and war with all its vice and tumult occupied the ground, and the years of the first Abbey of St. Peter were numbered.

Never were the first fair blossoms of the early year more mercilessly withered by the biting winds of spring than were those first fair homes of peaceful life and charity ruined by the violence that marked their chequered history. So ends the first age of our abbey. Its inhabitants were terrified, scattered, lost; and of their place and buildings not even the tradition of a memory remains. We may yet, however, form a fair idea of them, for it must be remembered that no art is isolated; it comes of that which was before, and hangs on its lamp of life to those who follow it. The character of all buildings in all countries has of course depended first on climate, and then on the nature of materials at hand, and the ability of the people. All round Gloucester in those early days were vast forests, on one side covering the great part of what is now Worcestershire, on the other side the wide range of our Forest Deanery; and yet nearer, the picturesque outline of what we know as the Hill of Robins’s Wood; and just over Severn, but close at hand, where

the aged oak of Lassington and the Highnam Chestnut tree link our degenerate woodlands with the heroes of primæval forest. Such then was the wealth of building material, as easily got as the stubborn oak would yield to the axe, and as cheaply as the Severn boats and rafts would bring it; and the builder of the first Abbey of St. Peter fetched it home, as Chaucer describes one in the Miller's tale :—

“I trow that he is sent
For *timbre*, that our Abbot hath him sent.”

There is still, in that once forest land of Cheshire, a fine example of the timber building of early times in the church at Warburton, where the piers and arches of the nave are formed of large oak trees cut in half lengthways, based on stone blocks, and, joining their curved forms above, produce the arcades on which the whole superstructure is borne. A timber arch still marks the place of the north-west doorway, and the chancel is of similar construction. Time and trouble have left us few examples; but there are so many valid grounds on which to formulate our ideas, that it needs but little stretch of imagination to rebuild the first Abbey of St. Peter. Like the first great church on the wild island of Landisfane, it might have been built with wood and thatched with reeds. Its aisles may have been arched with oak, like those at Warburton; and its tower like that near at hand at Upleadon, where the long upright oaken timbers, with white panels between them, are like those which Holinshed admired in the buildings of old England which he described as “commonlie so strong and well timbered that there are not aboue foure or six or nine inches between stud and stud.”

Thus may we easily imagine that group of monastic buildings bright with the contrast of dark oak and white panelling, with its long cloistral enclosure, and all the apartments for refectory, dormitory, and guesthouse, with its church and its tower rising above them, on a site chosen for its quietude, on the further side of what was then the sparkling stream of The Wyver, whose banks, covered with willows and alder trees, separated it from the town;—an ancient town, whose British and old Roman

buildings, picturesquely mixed together, with the Severn rolling beneath them, with smiling meadows all around it, and the background of the beechy Cotteswolds, had won for it the title of "the Fair City," (*Caer Glowe*.) Such might have been, and probably was, the pleasant scene that presented itself when, just twelve hundred years ago, King Ethelred came to visit his brother Wolfere's widow, or the sister of his friend Osric—Kyneburgh, the first Abbess, whose name, modernised into Kymbrose, is still familiar to the poor of Gloucester.

There is yet, however, another picture that we could draw, by no means so likely to be true; but to illustrate the state of the arts in England at that time, and particularly of such as might have been found at Gloucester, it may be as well to draw it. If the age had been dark, it certainly had been of all things darkest in relation to the arts; but before the foundation of this Abbey, the day of their revival had risen. From Iona to Canterbury, Christianity was the dominant religion. It spread as an element of light and peace, and the undercurrent of its influence prevailed. Men woke to the horror of the crime around them. An ideal altogether new was introduced into their life. The reality instead of the mere superstition of spiritual existence was forced upon them. The conviction weighed heavily on many minds. Men craved for quietude, and yearned to escape from a life they had learnt to hate. A new light had dawned upon them, and with it a sense of the beauty of that light. It awoke their dormant faculties of mind, heart, and imagination, and opened a fresh vista to the purpose and direction of their lives. Monastic life afforded the only refuge: Monasteries were the homes not only of religion but of learning, and then the arts came in to minister to them both; and thus their spark was kindled.

Some years before that time two men had come upon the scene, whose enthusiasm fanned that spark into a flame. St. Wilfred and his friend Benedict Biscop had learnt what art was among the grand relics of the South, and had returned from years spent in Italy and Gaul, not only to introduce the customs of the Roman Church among his old British fellow Christians of

the north, but to build them churches, till then unthought of, with finished masonry, with lead for roofing, and glass for windows. Their story has been too often told for me to repeat it here, or do more than to remind you how they had brought with them from France and Italy artists and workmen to revive the art of building, and to teach the English the mysteries of painting and making glass ; and how they founded monasteries and built churches, adorned with pictures and reliques, service books, sacred vessels, and embroidery.

The earliest Christian churches of southern Europe appear to have been constructed with the three clearly-marked divisions of the Sanctuary, Nave, (with or without aisles,) and Narthex respectively for the minister, the congregation, and the catechumens. Among the most interesting relics that time and revolution have spared, is the underground church built by St. Wilfrid at Hexham. It was built about ten years before the foundation of the Abbey at Gloucester, and is a complete model of the early Christian churches, with a chancel, a nave with aisles, and a narthex opening to the staircase which leads down to it, denuded of course of all that may have once embellished it, of very small dimensions, but in perfect preservation, constructed of materials which seem to tell the tale of their depredation from the great wall of Hadrian which is near at hand. But before the building of this crypt, and about twelve years before Osric began his work at Gloucester, St. Wilfrid had built a church at Ripon, about which Leland quotes this glowing description from Eddius, that it was “a basilica constructed of wrought stones from the foundation, and divers pillars and porticos formed part of its arrangement.” This church was dedicated to St. Peter, in the presence of Kings Egfrid and *Ælwin*. An underground chapel still remains of Wilfrid’s work at Ripon, which contains much in the rude simplicity of its work that is interesting to the architect and archæologist ; and above all, to such as linger with affectionate reverence upon the rare and precious reliques of the earliest Christian devotion in our island.

To return to Gloucester. If we are to accept the document

given by Dugdale,¹ Wolphere the King, the first Christian King of Mercia, and not his brother and successor Ethelred, was the real founder of this Abbey. Gloucester had but lately been added to his Kingdom of Mercia, and he is there stated to have enlarged and beautified the town of Gloucester, and laid the foundation of the Abbey. Laying the foundation may simply mean the assignment of lands for the establishment of the Abbey. Then his brother and successor took up the work, and hence his charter of foundation to Osric. But Wolphere had been at Ripon, and must have seen Wilfrid's great church there. The bias of his successor Ethelred's character was to peace, to the arts of peace, and to a religious life, as shown by the end he chose for it; for after thirty years spent in the weary work of ruling, he retired to the Monastery of Bardley, among the fens of Lincoln, and there died. St. Wilfrid had been his intimate friend and his guest at Bardley, and it is a fair inference that the works, as well as the character of such a man, must have exercised strong influence on a mind so entirely sympathetic as that of King Ethelred. It is also fair to infer that Gloucester must have occupied a prominent place in the mind of the whole Royal Family from the facts just mentioned about its foundation, from Wolphere's widow being its second Abbess, and further, that the succeeding King and his friend Offa, King of the East Saxons, were among the number of its benefactors. All this points but one way. I have no wish to exaggerate the supposition, which can only be based on inference; but Gloucester evidently held no common place among the noblest and wealthiest of the land, who had thus centred their interest and influence upon it.

Once more, and I leave it in your hands. Builders have been always reckless pilferers, and at these times no such idea as the sacredness of antiquity had entered their heads. Gloucester had been a Roman city, a wealthy one, with every building required for its commercial, military, and religious establishments. But these were then in ruins, and we may rightly fancy their

¹ "Memorale Ecclesiae Cathedralis Gloucestricæ Compendiarium." See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Caley and Ellis, vol. i., p. 563.

massive sides and angles like the great buttressed walls and nooks of many a mediæval cathedral, covered and filled in with hives of houses piled up against them for support and shelter. But those mines of building stone were used for other purposes, as badly or as well as the world may think it; and just as the first subterraneous church at Hexham was built of the pilfered ruins of Hadrian's wall, so might the first church of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, have owed its building materials to the wreck of the walls, the Pretorium, the Forum, and the Temples, of which we now trace the foundation, the mosaics, and the bases of their ruined architecture.

However that might have been, little occurred to affect the architecture of those buildings till the beginning of the 11th century. I am not concerned here upon the history of the Abbey, interesting as it is in all respects, except as regards the story of the arts which have been associated with its building; otherwise there would be much to say here, and subsequently also much that for consistency sake I must omit.

The really important change in the circumstances of the place, in those early days, occurred when, under Bishop Wolstan of Worcester, in A.D. 1022, it was changed from an establishment for secular clergy to a monastery under the rule of St. Benedict. The Bishop found the church richly endowed, two of the Mercian Kings having been, a few centuries before, its benefactors. The place was so important, and the opportunity so great, that he took the bold course of re-constituting the whole establishment, and of consecrating it afresh under the new title of St. Peter and St. Paul. I am well aware how often in ancient Chronicles larger establishments than this at Gloucester are described as having a "ligneæ basilica;" and smaller ones as being, in plain English, built of wattle and dab, and roofed with straw. But, at the time I am speaking of, stone was used in building quite small churches, such as the one still nearly perfect at Bradford-on-Avon; and stone was then also used where in some places it would have to be brought from a distance, as at Deerhurst. Here at Gloucester all sorts of stone was easily obtained. The herring-bone masonry

at Ashleworth, and the reticulated work on the chancel at Dymock, may be possibly of that period. On such an occasion as I was describing, some change in this building almost of necessity occurred, and we might then have seen rising above Bishop Wolstan's church a tower of that peculiar style that was then in vogue, marked by its masonry of long and short stones alternately, and even more marked still by the long narrow strips of stone, slightly relieved from the rubble surface of the walls, and dividing them into long upright panels, the divisions of the stories of the towers being also marked by horizontal strips of the same sort, and the angle-headed window openings formed also of two short pieces leaning against each other.

It is easy to trace many features of the marble architecture of Greece, and of the Lycian monuments to the wooden construction out of which they had grown; and here in Anglo-Saxon times we find when stone was used for walls, the principal features both of construction and ornament were derived from the wooden frame-work with its white wattled panels between, which had been the primitive style of the country; and further on still we may perhaps be allowed to trace, from those long flat strips of stone, the tall, thin, and pilaster-like projections, which constantly divide in a similar manner, the façades of Romanesque and Norman buildings, all having their distinct origin in the oak building of former days. Such in the year 1022 may have been the tower of the newly-constructed Abbey, on the banks of the Wyver.

But the great change was yet to come. A subsequent Bishop, a man of great ability and ambition, formed the scheme of a still more important establishment. His name was Aldred, to whose lot it fell to crown both Harold of England and William of Normandy. He was not a man to do small things. His vigour may be inferred from the remonstrance he addressed to William the Conqueror, which brought the Conqueror on his knees before him, in presence of his Court, on the floor of Westminster Abbey. He held for some years the sees of Hereford and Worcester, including the present diocese of Gloucester, and

he subsequently became Archbishop of York. If he and Wolsey could have interchanged their dates of birth, he might have played the part of Wolsey. This man, recognising the importance of the opportunity, acted on his resolve, and laid out a great scheme for the future Abbey nearer to the city.

The sites almost invariably chosen for monasteries had been solitudes of sea coast, forest, or fen ; and in course of time the cottages of their dependants so accumulated as to change their solitude to a city. But here at Gloucester the city existed close at hand. The original Monastery of St. Kyneburgh had chosen its site in a quiet place, beyond the Roman wall, among the groves of alder trees, which stretched upwards from that island of the Severn which from them still holds its ancient name of Al-ney.

But now the opportunity occurred for the foundation of an important establishment, capable of service both for its own inmates and for the city. He chose the new site and there he built upon it.

According to Abbot Frocester's history this remarkable man was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1058, *i.e.*, eight years before the Norman Conquest, and it records that he constructed the Abbey Church *de novo* from its foundation, and re-dedicated it according to its original title of St. Peter's.

The next we hear of any building is in the time of the first Norman Abbot Serlo ; and of that work we only learn that the first stone *Glovernencis ecclesie*, (of the Gloucester Church,) was laid in 1089, twelve years after the Conquest, and was consecrated with great pomp in 1100.¹ Thus the great Abbey, of which the bulk now stands, was completed. It had been a gigantic undertaking ; and we can easily imagine the workmen sitting down within the western wall to contemplate their finished work. They saw before them the vista of a grand arcade, on massive piers, and in the distance closed by an apse behind the high altar, and covered in from end to end by a flat ceiling of wood, panelled and painted as the fashion was. Right and left

¹ *Hist et Cart. S. Pet. Glou.* vol. i., pp. 11, 12.

along the nave and choir, and all round the apse, vaulted aisles added to the grandeur of effect; beyond the choir were three chapels with groined roofs and apses round their altars; and at the opening of the choir, north and south, were transepts, with chapels projected from them eastwards. In the centre, where the four great arms of the building met, rose a tower which might have been of wood, otherwise it probably was like that on Osric's tomb, with an interior arcade, and open like a lantern to the church below, as that of Tewkesbury was in Norman times. All round above the aisles of the choir was a spacious groined triforium, with chapel for chapel and altar for altar as below; and beneath them all a lower church (now mis-called the Crypt,) with chapels, aisles, and groins, and altars, repeating all that was above. Nor was this nearly all, for that was but the huge shell which enclosed the finer things of sculpture and glass, embroidery and metal work. But time would fail to tell of all outside, the transept towers, deep doorways richly carved, the great chapter-room, and the gloomy passages of the slype, with its long arcade leading out to the burial-ground; and all this vast and varied work of one style throughout, complete and beautiful in its unbroken unity.

Those workmen may well have looked with awe on this gigantic product of their hands. The foundation for it would alone have been a thing for giants. But *was all this work really theirs?* Had the short term of eleven years sufficed to destroy an important work of such a predecessor as Bishop Aldred; to devise, to organise, to finish such a vast pile as that which stretched out in long perspective before them; to collect its mountain of materials, with all the painful strain of transport to overcome, and all the rudeness of their machinery? As they sat there weary beneath its shade, had they in that short space of fleeting years shaped and finished such a work as this? If I had been one of those who had to answer, I should have answered "No."

If we remember the circumstances under which mediæval records were compiled, we shall not look for that accuracy of statement or description, which we expect to find in the chronicles

of our own days. The studious Monks, happy in their heedlessness of time, at work in those quiet little carols which flank the whole length of the Southern Cloister, inditing or illuminating their parchment pages, were free from those disturbing elements which mark the self-consciousness of modern literature, but less happily free and unaided by those facilities which modern life affords for its richness and truth. Their narratives were simple and unadorned; or if adorned at all, they were so by traditional illustrations, and influenced rather by the sacredness of wonder than the severity of fact. Thus it is that in reading Abbot Frocester's valuable chronicle, we are inevitably struck by the broad and general terms which he applies to what in fact were great events, such as the frequent destruction of the Abbey by fire, and the rebuilding of it; or where he describes the refounding of the vast establishment, with all the costly and complicated work that it entailed, without a word of reference to what remained of previous buildings, or of how their materials were used, or their remaining parts incorporated.

In offering to you an outline of what appears to me the probable account of the building of this great Abbey Church, and taking all the recorded facts of its history as my guide, I venture to put it into a narrative form; and for that purpose I present to you a scene that might very possibly have occurred.

In that group of workmen, resting within the shadow of the western wall, was a man of some age and evident intelligence, and plainly a master among them. A young monk of the Priory of Tewkesbury, but lately come to Gloucester, joined them, and asked many questions about the building; so the old mason told him this story. He said: "I am a native of Deerhurst. My father was a builder there, and he sent me to the Monks' School at the Priory. I saw a great deal of building work under my father, for he did all the work for the Priory, and when the rich Earl Odda built a Royal Hall close by the old church of the Priory, my father built it for him. There was a very busy Bishop at Worcester then: his name was Aldred; he was a great friend of the Earl's, and came and blessed his new buildings

for him. But the biggest place the Bishop had to do with was here at Gloucester ; and King Edward (God bless him) was often here ; for the place is a strong one, with that old wall and the Castle down by the Severn, and the marshes out beyond ; and there's a sight of business done by the boats that come up from the sea. So King Edward liked the place ; and the Bishop, who was always wide awake to business, (so he's got made Archbishop of York now,) used often to come here ; for the King liked all Church work, and buildings, and so forth, and had a number of Frenchmen about him ; and as the Bishop was a great traveller they got on very well together. The first time the Bishop came to Gloucester, he brought me with him from Deerhurst, for he knew the Abbey here was in a bad state, and that I had a good knowledge of building and all that from my father. We found the place in a poor way ; and the Bishop thought to please the King, and to get the King to help him, if he tried to build a large church, like what the King was building then near London.¹ So the Bishop and I talked it over ; and the new Abbot here, Wilstan, he too thought to please the King, so we worked together and laid out a place for it close to where the old Roman wall was, so as to make it the chief church of the city ; with the Abbey buildings snug and quiet on the other side. The Bishop had been in France and had seen all that was doing there ; but he said it would be no use putting our English men to work like that, but to build strong and simple work like what our folk could do best. So we struck out the plan on the ground, and I was frightened when I saw how big the Bishop meant to build it, and I told him he'd never do it. So he set me over the work, and I got a lot of men and things together, and we began at the east end, and there the under-croft was built, with low vaults and large blocks of masonry to carry those above. Against them we built small columns to carry the groins. There were some small columns in the old ruined place close by ; so we put them in the middle, under where the high altar was to be ; they were like some I remember among the old Priory buildings at Deerhurst. So we got on, and put up the piers of the choir—

¹ Which we now know as Westminster Abbey.

those big rounded ones that you see out there round the altar, such as our men could do, for they didn't like the sort the Bishop wanted, which was the French way of work, large square ones with lots of angles and notches and little shafts in them, which our folk wern't accustomed to. So we worked in our own way, and after some years we got the choir all done and ceiled it over flat with boards. Outside the church we built the slype leading out to the burial ground, and we ceiled it plain like the under-croft; and we built a long wall where the cloisters were to be, which is now the Prior's garden. There was an arch¹ in that wall which opened into the slype, and two others into the Chapter House, which was a very large room built of wood, where good King Edward used to meet his Witan most years in winter time. And there was a long dormitory over the slype, which was built of wood too, but all those wooden buildings have been burnt down. We were at work at the cross transepts at the same time; for the King was building his big church near London on a plan like a cross, which was quite new to us; and the Bishop here, thinking to make a fine thing and to please the King, was set on making his new church like the King's. We got on with the transepts, and built part of their east walls and the chapels in them; but we never got any further, for the Bishop was always about the Court, and liked to have all the nobles about him, and he spent his money too fast with them. As soon as he got the choir ceiled, he got the King's friends about him, and the Abbot of Pershore, and the Priors of Malvern, Tewkesbury, and Deerhurst, and many more, and there was a great feast, and he blessed the new church in the name of St. Peter. But he left us then, for the King was so pleased with him that he had him made Archbishop of York; and he stopped all the work here by seizing three or four parishes about here to pay himself back for what he had spent, so there was no money to pay the men. And then the good King died, and the men went away to fight under King

¹These arches may still be traced in the wall, both outside in the cloisters and within the chapter house and slype, and their stones bear the evidence of fire, being burnt red, like those of the lower parts of the piers of the nave which were burnt by the blazing timbers of Abbot Serlo's first ceiling.

Harold, for they did'nt want the French Duke William. So the place was left not half done, and so it remained for many years. But what grieved me most was that by the Bishop's way of living, and the cost of the great building, and his taking away the worth of those fine parishes from the Abbot here, the place was ruined ; and the poor monks went away, for they had no means of living here any more ; and Abbot Wilstan, with his heart nearly broken, left us and went to Jerusalem and died. So all our work was left to go to chance. After that, things were changed a good deal in England, and our old Bishop went from York and crowned the Frenchman King of England in good King Edward's own church, down by the Thames at Thorney. After brave King Harold's death some of our masons went to work for the French at Dover Castle, but I stayed here and did work at St. Oswald's priory close by, and at St. Kyneburgh's up in the town. Some six years after that we had a Frenchman made Abbot here, one Serlo, who had been an Abbot before in France ; and when he came here he found the place very poor, for Bishop Aldred had ruined it, and there were only two old monks and a few boys left in the place. But the choir and all that we had done pleased him much ; and he sent for me, as I knew all about it, and I went over it with him. It was all sound but the groining of the undercroft, which had cracked, for we had bad lime for mortar, and for many years there was no one here to care about it. But he was pleased at Bishop Aldred's plan, and as the choir part for the monks was done, he took to the nave, as Bishop Aldred had laid it out, and he ordered me to see to the building of it as a great church for the town people, and he got the Bishop of Hereford here to lay the first stone of this work. But there was an earthquake that year, which made our old work in the undercroft all the worse ; so some while afterwards he made us underbuild it with strong piers and arches, as you can see if you go down there. Many of our men soon came back, and the French Abbot wanted them to build as they do in France ; but our men did'nt take to it : so we went on the same plan with these big piers as in Bishop Aldred's choir, only taller. But the Frenchman was not satisfied with our plain work ; so we got stone carvers here, and all the arches were carved

as you see, and the mouldings above too, and the groinings of the new aisles are carved, and all the work we did for him looks richer than we did before; but the masonry looks the same, for the same men did the best part of it. And the French Abbot was so fond of rich work that when we put in the strong groins down in the undercroft he had them carved too; and there is a chapel down there on the right near the east end that he had made very rich with little shafts and arches; we could only put them there by standing them up against the old work and these were carved too. You'll always know the work we did for him, for he was never pleased without some rich work somewhere about; and we finished the transepts and the tower, and finished it above with a wooden steeple, and we built the new Chapter House just where the old one was burnt, and put little arches, all richly cut and carved, along the sides of it; but you'll never find one scrap of our old work with anything like that upon it, or anything else but strong and plain. The last thing we did was the flat ceiling all along, and some Frenchmen came and painted it in squares and patterns, black and white. And now we have done all, and to-morrow we shall have four bishops here to open the church to the people and bless it. Your old Priory at Tewkesbury is in a poor plight, and if ever your Prior there wants men, he'd better give us the work, and we'll put it up strong for him like this; that is what our men can do, for it's the English way of work." So ended the old mason's story, and all the group dispersed.

We may easily imagine how imposing was the scene when that grand church was opened to the people. Good Abbot Serlo had won his way by the greatness of his character and piety. "Ecclesiæ murus, virtutis gladius, buccina justiciæ," are the words written to his memory by William of Malmesbury. The wealth and work of that good man attracted other good men to him; and among them was one Peter his Prior, who succeeded him as Abbot, a man of literary and artistic pursuits, who first began a library here, and collected rich mass books, and embroidery, and filled the treasury with valuable things, amongst which was the famous Gloucester candlestick, now in the safe custody of

the South Kensington Museum, which with all its grotesqueness of design and ornament, is no mere relic of antique curiosity, but a work of such excellence as even in these fastidious days, to command our surprise and admiration. It must have been a heart-breaking scene for the good Abbot and his art-loving Prior to witness only two years after their dedication festival their glorious Abbey Church devastated by fire. The great roof and painted ceiling lay smouldering upon the floor. But as, thank God, in so many human affairs, good comes out of evil, the terror and ruin of those recurrent flames which scar the history of all such buildings, brought about the use of stone vaulting, which both for its skill and beauty, became the consummating glory of mediæval genius. After four destructive fires, the first work of Gothic vaulting here, which the monks of the Abbey devised and worked at with their own hands, was, however, not an artistic success. They cut and maimed the features of the fine old Norman clerestory, and placed their thin weak work too low, destroying all the original grandeur of effect. If it were just at all to stigmatise the arts of Romanesque or Norman times as grotesque or rude, there was yet about them that breadth and vigour of purpose which are the best elements of grandeur. But here in this first pointed vaulting was a grievous and irreparable injury, destroying all sense of proportion throughout the whole building.

If our subject here were either archæology or history, such events as these old walls have witnessed, when the last Saxon Edward trod these aisles, or met his Witan on this very spot¹; or when the Conqueror William came to Gloucester at Christmas time to hunt the neighbouring forest, or met his Parliament within these very walls; or when the child King Henry the Third was crowned upon those very altar steps; or when in solemn stateliness the murdered Edward was laid beneath those stones, such grand historical events as these would afford the opportunities of most picturesque description; for by ancient chronicles, by illuminated manuscripts, and by inference from similar events

¹ The Chapter House.

well known elsewhere, we could paint those pictures to the life. But our attention here is limited to those arts of ancient days that we see illustrated around us.

If, then, we cast the eyes of our imagination backwards to those wondrous times, marked as they are by the contrasts of intense refinement with intense barbarity, we shall find in the broken record of their arts, such as the great religious houses present either to our memory by their records, or by their relics to our eyes, such works of surpassing beauty, such evidences of exquisite piety, as are enough to cool our pride and engage our deepest sympathies. If we remember how those arts of the middle ages grew in beauty and strength, not by imitation or by rote, but from the womb of creative genius ; if we reflect how deep are the sentiments, the sympathy, the aspiration they express, we trace through their means the broad action of that humanity which is indeed the beating of the human heart from generation to generation, forward to ourselves, whose sense responds to every syllable of their poetry, or backwards, far backwards, to the days when one who was a poet, a prophet, and a king poured out his heart in such words as these : “I have set my affection on the house of my God, I have prepared onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistening stones, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones and marble stones in abundance, and gold for the things of gold, and silver for things of silver”—or to one who followed in such work, and added to it blue and purple and crimson and fair linen—or to the ancient seer, whose inspired sense of the future glory of Christ’s Church broke out in such rhapsody as this : “Oh, thou afflicted, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and thy foundations with sapphires ; I will make thy windows of agates. and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.”

Among the relics of this once great Abbey of St. Peter there are the evidences of such enterprises in art, such record of the devotion of men’s lives, their thoughts, their piety, their skill, as are better felt than told. They are their own interpreters. But we might tell of such things as these—how that some forms

of art seem to have sprung up first here at Gloucester, such as the fan vaulting of the Cloisters ; and the web of screens and tracery of a style before its time that enrich St. Andrew's aisle ; or of that master genius of architecture, whose name is among the great unknown, fired by the success and beauty of that work of Abbot Wygmore, and impelled by an enthusiasm approaching recklessness, that broke through the eastern apse, changing its gloom into a flood of light ; and paring down the venerable walls, covered them with a film of tracery, and then threw up a vault of network stone so playful, so light, as seemed to need nothing but the air to carry it. We might still further tell of the qualities of ancient glass, so refractive as to turn it all to jewelry ; or of that masterpiece of refined colouring, still traceable among the shreds of ruin, on the reredos of the Lady Chapel ; or again, we might praise the successful audacity which poised the great tower in mid air, and crowned it with embroidery in stone ; or we might instance the monument and statue of King Edward the Second, perhaps the finest mediæval work of marble in England ; or the unique bracket monument in the choir ; or the art of encaustic painted tiles, and the treasures of history and genealogy which their heraldry contains. But all these things are rather for the study of years than for this passing hour.

Take, rather, one broad glance at this mighty fabric. Place yourself where you can command the view, or wander in the aisles and see that great work in the completion of its beauty, as it was on the morning of that day (all but three centuries and a half ago) when the Prior met the King's Commissioners and surrendered the Abbey for its dissolution. How different from what we see it now, denuded of its colour, poor in sculpture, robbed of those important features which made its architectural effect harmonious and complete, and others added which are an injury and a blemish. Of what it was we know enough by history and by inference to build it up again ; but words will not build, and description would fail to bring adequately before you the full effect of what the art and the devotion of centuries had accumulated within its walls. In front of you would rise the great central rood on its loft, approached by stairs in the aisle upon

your left ; and beneath it the two altars, facing westward, for the people's church, placed right and left against the stone screen which parted it from the choir, each altar with its background of sculptured niches and coloured statuary. If there is a feature more remarkable than others, even now, it is the multitude of stone screen work about the choir and its aisles and transepts ; but in those days we know of at least two more, which must have had imposing effect, at the end of each aisle of the nave ; but these and what not more are swept away. Within the choir (without a word of disparagement of the present work, but rather otherwise) who can doubt what the high altar and its re-table must have been, as the work of that unsurpassed genius who changed the grim old Saxon apse into a wonder of gracefulness and light ? Then all round this choir, its aisles, and its chapels, now, alas, empty and disused, but then with their apses filled with sculpture and their walls covered with storied painting ; and last, not least indeed, that incomparable Lady Chapel, now desolate, but then a wonder of coloured walls and windows, and such a reredos as neither our fancy nor our skill could replace, now a blackened wreck ; but then a work of highest art, and of exquisite workmanship in sculpture and in colours, before which we can only stand admiring, grieved, and silent.

Turn, then, from these materials to the moral of their tale. The Church in those days had its enemies, some just and learned, some ignorant and unjust. Rightly or wrongly it is not our business here to discuss the Faith of Christianity as it then presented itself, whether in the plain guise of its primitive truths, or modified in the passage of centuries by all that ignorance, superstition, or the poetry of romance had done to darken or adorn it, the people were content, and they received the recompense of their simple faith. It was to them the light and the solace of their lives in an age of hardship and rough company. How natural, then, their reverence and regard for all that these sacred walls contained, that brought to their faithful eyes the assurance of consolation and support. The altars were their sanctuaries of refuge. The quiet aisles, whose peace was only deepened by the echoes from the world without, were their resting-places.

Architecture had embellished them, sculpture had enriched them, and painting, which was then the poor man's literature, had covered them with stories, suggesting thoughts of devotion and peace.

But what are all these arts? Does any estimate of them that we can take exhaust their nature? Whence come they? For what do they exist, if it be not for their power of appeal from man to man? Of what good that lofty choir, if it be but to enclose a vague and useless space; of what good to raise above it that great tower, if it be but to pile up senseless stones; for what the bulk and body of the great minster itself, if it be but a mass of meaningless masonry? No; but as the spark is that lights the candle, so has the touch of fine art illumined these stones. The hands of their builders are dead, but their art lives; and their heart, their mind, their devotion, their very lives, still animate these monuments.

So ends my story; and the moral of it all is this—The foundation of all fine art lies in the *relationship* which exists between the things of material and the things of spirit; and the degree of its perception and the power of its use is the gauge of all art's genius. By force of that relationship fine art testifies to that Divine life which underlies the whole sphere of man's mortal state. She testifies to the utter inadequacy of all material things to measure the range, or to satisfy the aspirations, of that which is itself illimitable, the human soul. Art is herself that soul's interpreter. Her greatest works are but symbols. She is conscious of her own feebleness, and of those impenetrable clouds which dim her mortal sight. But she is conscious also of that light which shines beyond those clouds, and by an impulse of desire and faith she stretches out her arms to the heavens, and silent, she binds around her lovely brow this motto: "What is not seen is eternal."

A BENEDICTINE MONK OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE REV. B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

OUR Cathedral buildings at Peterborough are far from rich in works of sculpture; but among the works which we have there are two which have always seemed to me to be of the deepest interest. The one is a statue of a Benedictine Monk, which occupies a niche in the gateway built by Godfrey of Croyland about 1308; the other is the effigy of an unknown Abbot of considerably earlier date, carved upon the slab which once covered his grave, and which now lies in the south aisle of the choir. They are widely different in character and significance. The statue of the monk, which Flaxman took as an illustration of his lectures on sculpture, is one of the noblest of mediæval figures. The effigy of the abbot has no artistic merit whatever. But both alike are studies from life; and together they seem to me to bring very vividly before us the vital power of early monasticism in England. The rude, realistic portrait of the Abbot, with resolute mouth, short curly beard, and broad full forehead, shows the will of a ruler who would not shrink from the responsibility of command.¹ It is not as a mere conventional symbol that he holds the Rule of his Order upon his heart, and crushes with his pastoral staff the head of the monster which he treads under his feet. It is evident that in his days government was a reality. And on the other side, the ideal figure of the Monk offers the type of those who rejoiced in obedience. Strong in his self-renunciation, calm, devout, he seems to wait for the opportunity of service. These two figures present to us, as I have said, the

¹A similar memorial to an Abbot of S. Peter's, though of later date, was recently found face downwards and terribly mutilated in the North Transept. It has been placed in the East Chapel of the Crypt.—ED.

personal characteristics which were the inspiration of monasticism—an unlimited recognition of responsibility in its two opposite forms of using and serving. If now we lift up our eyes for a moment from the figures to the building¹ which was the centre of their living labours, to the majestic arcade of the cathedral nave, or to the unique glory of its west front, we shall instinctively add another social characteristic to those which we have noticed: an unlimited recognition of the meaning and duty of worship as an element in national life.

Here then in these three notes we have our theme. Those who have spoken before me here have shown how the Monastery² within whose walls we are met was founded, how the material fabric was raised. This evening we must try to people the old buildings, the choir, the chapter-room, the cloisters, to understand in some little degree what kind of men they were whose heirs we have become.

Responsibility, work, worship: I take these three as marking the end of the rule to which the Benedictine Monks of St. Peter's yielded themselves, the ideal of their lives; and the end was followed by a wisely-calculated method.

The master principle of the rule through which the members of the society were to be disciplined was obedience, of which (shall I venture to say it?) command is the highest form. "Hear, my son, the precepts of thy master"—these are Benedict's first words—"that thou mayest return to Him by the trial of obedience from whom thou hast fallen by the sloth of disobedience." Earlier ascetics have shown the foundation of individual freedom in self-conquest; Benedict showed the foundation of social freedom in self-surrender. It may seem to be a paradox, but all experience teaches us that perfect obedience to a perfect law coincides with perfect liberty, and that he is strongest in action who seeks "not to do his own will but the will of Him that sent him." Thus Benedict literally transferred to life the command of St. Paul, "Submit yourselves one to another in the fear of God;" and on this solid basis he reared a

¹Peterborough Cathedral, formerly S. Peter's Abbey, Medehampstead.—ED.

²GloUCESTER CATHEDRAL, formerly S. Peter's Abbey.—ED.

permanent society in which for the first time equality and brotherhood were practically realised. It was his glory, so far as his rule reached, to abolish slavery, to devote property to a common use, to combine differences of character and power for the perfecting of Christian fellowship. Within the walls of the monastery the noble and the bondman were equal. No one was allowed to say that anything was his own, except his sins. The ties of family were lost in the larger bond of spiritual kinsmanship. "A monk," in the striking language of one of themselves, "was a kind of Melchizedek, without father, without mother, without genealogy."

Handicraft and study were enjoined as the complement of religious exercises, with no rivalry and with no preference. For him who ruled and for him who served there was one absolute law—to prefer his brother's good to his own. It was made plain that all true human action was for God and through God. No one might determine his own occupation, or take upon himself without permission, self-chosen obligations or austerities. If anyone was called to an office, however humble, he was directed to fall at the knees of the brethren and beg their prayers; and when the work was done he closed it with the thanksgiving "Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, who hast holpen me and comforted me." At the same time the most unsparing demands on devotion are combined with singular tenderness and love of souls.

It was enjoined that public prayers should be short, in order to secure easily concentrated attention. Readers were chosen likely to attract by their skill. Offences were strictly punished; but room was offered for repentance even to the third time to a brother who had been expelled from the Society. "There was always," in Benedict's own words, "something to which the strong might aspire, and something from which the weak might not shrink."

Disciplined on these principles, each Benedictine society became as it were a little garrison, holding a citadel of peace, in the midst of a turbulent people. It was independent, and in the main unmolested. The monastery included within its walls all

that was requisite for the support of the inmates ; the fishpond and the barn, the bakehouse and the brewery ; and the monks were privileged to be neutral in the fiercest conflicts. Sometimes a group of monasteries united themselves together for mutual encouragement and support, as when, in 1075, "the seven monasteries of Worcester, Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcomb, and Gloucester, agreed to be as one minster, with one heart and one soul."

It is no wonder, then, that young boys were dedicated to a monastic life at the altar of the monastery church, like Walter de Lacy, Abbot here from 1130 to 1139, who was committed to the care of Serlo when he was seven years old ;¹ or Hugo Candidus, one of our Peterborough Chroniclers ; or William of Malmesbury ; who lived in their respective abbeys from their childhood. Henceforward the monastery was the home of these new Samuels who became the nucleus of a monastic school and at the same time a spring of perpetual freshness in the house itself.

Such was the general conception of the Benedictine system—and I speak now only of its ideal, without forgetting its failures and corruptions—a life of common relations and universal service. And it may perhaps be fairly said that when it was introduced into England it found a position rich in peculiar advantages. It succeeded to the influence and popular affection gained by the earlier monasticism, which was identified with national Christianity. On the Continent monasticism was a reaction and a reform. In England it represented the companies of evangelists by whom the faith was first spread. For this reason it gained a firm hold upon the people, and when Dunstan brought in the great western rule to remodel the old institutions, which had fallen into disorganisation, he contrived with bold statesmanship

¹Walter de Laci, fourth Abbot of S. Peter's after the Conquest, was the youngest son of Walter de Laci and Ermelina or Emma, his wife.

In 1080, King William I. was at Berkeley with his Court ; and in his presence Walter de Laci and his wife devoted their son Walter, then seven years of age, to the service of God and S. Peter. Serlo, who was present, took charge of the young devotee, and received with him, as a gift to S. Peter's Abbey, the lands of Le Dene, or Lydney.—ED.

to secure for his new foundations the endowments of those which they replaced, and to offer them as a national development of national religious life.

The societies of secular priests, which represented much that was characteristic of the original order, were made to give way to communities fashioned on the Benedictine type, first at Winchester and Worcester, and afterwards at Gloucester and elsewhere ; and the revolution—for it was no less—was accepted by the people. In one respect, however, Dunstan fixed a national stamp upon his system. Prayers for the King and the Queen occupy a prominent place in the services which he enjoined ; and the reformation itself is referred by him to the energy and devotion of the monarch in the discharge of “ his royal office as a watchful shepherd of shepherds.”

The work of Dunstan in establishing Benedictinism in England was consolidated and completed by Lanfranc.

The birthplace of the mediæval monasticism of England was Bec ; and I doubt if any single fragment of antiquity can appeal more touchingly to an Englishman than the solitary tower, built on the verge of the Renaissance, which now alone witnesses to the glory of the Norman monastery. Rising high above the battlements, on the crest of the staircase-turret stands the figure of the Lord, as on the pinnacle of the Temple ; below, wrought in the stonework of the wall, are the words “ *Noli temptare Deum.* ” It seems like a voice ; a monument of Divine judgment.

Lanfranc, I said, determined the special character of the Benedictine Rule in England, and we must add, I fear, prepared the way for the denationalisation of the monastic system. In a letter addressed to Henry the Prior [of Christ Church, Canterbury], probably after the Synod of London in 1075, he issued decrees for the observance of the rule “ in monasteries and cathedral churches.”¹ The document everywhere assumes the original rule, and deals mainly with points where variations and additions seemed to be desirable. It would be easy to extract

¹See *Lanfranci Opera*, ed. Giles, vol. i.—ED.

from it striking illustrations of the lofty and yet practical spirit in which the duties of the several offices of the society were defined. But the power of the rule as a discipline lay above all things in its completeness ; and I think that I shall give a clearer notion of its character by attempting to trace out the actual routine of a monk's occupations in England on an ordinary day —on festivals and at special seasons the religious services were more elaborate and engrossing—than by selecting peculiar traits for notice.

The general scheme of the day's duties was based upon the two phrases of the Psalms : “At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee,” and “ Seven times a day do I praise Thee.” The literal fulfilment of these words was the first aim of Benedict's discipline. “At these times,” he says, “let us render praises to our Creator for the judgments of His righteousness—that is, at matins, at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, at vespers and at compline ; and let us rise up at night to make confession to him,” at vigils.

But here we must remember that hours were not measured in Benedict's time as they are now. The varying periods of light and darkness were reckoned as day and night, and severally divided into twelve equal spaces or hours, so that the hours of the day were long in summer and the hours of night in winter. And then, again, the day—the twelve hours from sunrise to sunset—was divided into four parts, which were severally named after the last hour which they included. Thus “the third hour” included three hours from sunrise : “the sixth hour” the three hours terminating at midday. And so it fell out that “none,” the ninth hour, which ended at three o'clock, came to signify “noon,” the time when it began, as men came to shift backward the limit of fasting which was fixed at “the ninth hour.”

Bearing this arrangement of the hours in mind, we can follow the order of the day. From All Saints' Day till Easter, Benedict ordered Vigils to begin two hours after midnight. At the time the appointed officer roused the monks, who were all sleeping in a single dormitory if the number was not too large.

Each occupied in most cases a separate cubicle. They lay upon a rug spread over a rough mattress stuffed with straw, which was changed once a year. They slept dressed and girt, with a rug to cover them. Thus they were prepared without hurry and confusion to attend the first service. As soon as the signal was given they rose, crossed themselves, and making some private devotions on their way, passed to the church. Here and there a grave and gentle word was addressed to some lingering brother. For each monk was held responsible for the punctuality of his two neighbours. If any one was late at prayers his correction was followed by the question, "Who was sleeping next to you?"

After the close of the night vigils, if there was a considerable interval before daybreak, the monks returned to rest or remained in meditation.

At the approach of dawn the watchman gave a signal, and all, including the children, now came with their lights to the church for matins. Matins, according to Benedict's instruction, were held "at the beginning of light," and the service of the first hour (Prime) seems to have followed directly after them.

These services being ended, monks and children went into the cloister, which was the usual place of study, of teaching, and of meditation, and spent the time before the next service in prayer or reading, according to the direction which each received. The boys read aloud, and if need be chanted; and till this exercise was over no one else was allowed to read except in silence.

Between eight and nine o'clock a small bell was sounded by the sacrist, and the monks returned to the dormitory to put on their day-sandals and attach their knives to their girdles, which were laid aside at night. They then washed themselves and went into the choir of the church, where they lay prostrate on the ground till they were joined by the children, who had meanwhile completed their dressing. Then at a given signal all joined in three prayers, after the ringing of a bell. The service of the third hour (Tierce) was chanted. This service was followed immediately by the first Mass.

At the close of the Mass all remained in the choir except such as had officiated in the service. These went out to lay aside their robes and then came back. On their return the prior, at the abbot's direction, sounded the smallest bell. All at once stood up and turned to the east. Any monks who had been absent from Mass on necessary business joined the congregation. All this time the little bell continued to sound; and while it sounded no one was allowed to read or to look into a book. When the bell ceased the whole company passed out two and two according to seniority, into the chapter room, the children closing the procession and going directly, as it seems, to their own room.

Then came the most characteristic scene in the day. All the members of the society took their proper places on the stone seats round the room. There was first a solemn pause. Then a blessing was asked and given. Passages of the Rule, or some other writings, were read, according to the custom of the house. An address or instruction was given by the abbot or his representative; the dead were commemorated; and then the presiding officer said, "Let us speak of our Order." It was a trying moment. Anyone who was conscious of an offence came forward and openly acknowledged it, asking for pardon and satisfaction. A still severer trial followed. The officers whose duty it was to watch silently over the observance of the rule by night and by day denounced anyone who had violated it. After hearing his name the person accused left his seat, fell on his face before the abbot, and in general terms acknowledged his offence. He had then the opportunity of refuting the special charge; but no one might plead his cause. The abbot decided the case, and if he held the offence to be proved punishment followed at once. Corporal discipline was not unfrequently inflicted. The offender was either beaten with a stick as he lay at length upon the ground; or he sat stripped to the waist and was scourged with a rod at the discretion of the judge. "During the infliction of corporal discipline," Lanfranc writes, "all the brethren must bow their heads and show compassion for the penitent with dutiful and brotherly affection. Meanwhile no one must speak in the Chapter; no one look at the offender, except those in high place, who may intercede

for him." It is very difficult for us to recall the scene to life; difficult to fill again this room with that congregation of erring, suffering, judging, sympathising men, who felt that the soul's honour could be vindicated by the open chastisement of the body; difficult to take to ourselves the lesson which it teaches, and which perhaps we have too commonly forgotten. It is difficult; but even then, with such pathetic associations—memories of the age which we cannot if we would recall—this Chapter-room will not, I think, speak to us in vain if we are willing to listen in patience.

When the Chapter was over work or reading followed till the preparation for Sext, between eleven and twelve.

After Sext there was sometimes a procession with bare feet round the cloister before the second Mass; sometimes Mass followed immediately after Sext, and sometimes Sext preceded Mass.

After Mass, unless it was a fast day, the first meat was taken, from Easter to Holy Rood day (September 14th). At other times it was taken about two hours later. According to the Rule this was to consist of two dishes composed mainly of cooked vegetables, though eggs, fish, fowl, and milk do not seem to be forbidden, and were used in Norman times, with a fixed allowance of bread, and wine or beer. Fruit or salad might be added if the garden supplied them. After the early dinner a short *siesta* was allowed in summer, when the nights were short. The next service was that of the ninth hour (Nones), between two and three. Vespers followed at about four. Before sunset there was a second lighter meal of bread and fruit, unless it was a fast day, when there was no second meal.

After supper, or directly after Vespers, as the case might be, the slight changes in dress for the night were made, and then all met for collation. An officer appointed for the week read passages of Scripture, or Lives of the Fathers; and we may notice a little trait of thoughtful consideration when Benedict prescribes that at this hour the lessons should be not only edifying but easy to follow. No such limitation was laid on the reading at meals.

During collation some additional refreshment was often taken, bread or wine, provided by special benefactions. And it may be noticed here that monks who were engaged in laborious duties had additional allowances of food, that they might, as it is said, "be able to fulfil their offices cheerfully"; and generally large power was given to the abbot to deal with the special circumstances of his convent or of particular members of it.

Collation was followed by Compline, about seven or a little later in summer.

At the close of Compline the final blessing was given. The monks went to the dormitory, and complete silence was enjoined. Perhaps a few still lingered in the church for private devotion, but when the last bell sounded, about eight, all retired to rest. Then in the peopled stillness of the dormitory each one, in the words of an early monk, was bound to "hold his own Chapter, sitting in judgment on himself."

Such was the outline of a day's occupations. It is not easy to calculate the distribution of the hours among the several works. About a fourth of the whole day was given to rest: of the remainder perhaps about two-fifths was occupied in the church. But no mere catalogue of services can give an idea of the wise provisions which the rule supplied for quickening and supporting throughout a calm and equal spirit of devotion, for repelling weariness by change of duties, and checking temptation by constant engagement. The vigorous were thus kept in full occupation; and careful provision was made to meet the necessary incidents of sickness and age.

Nowhere perhaps is the thoughtful tenderness of Benedict's rule so conspicuous as in the directions as to the sick. "Before all things and above all things," he writes, "care must be given to the sick: they must be served, and Christ in them." In accordance with this principle the sick and infirm were constantly watched and tended. They had their own hall and chapel, their own officers and staff of servants. At Peterborough the infirmary contains the most beautiful work which remains. At the same

time the severity of the Rule was freely relaxed according to the requirements of ailment. The sick were not for the time held bound by the obligation of monks, and when they returned to the Chapter they asked and received absolution for the non-observance of their rule. An injunction addressed by Archbishop Winchelsea, in 1301, to this Monastery may serve to show the consideration with which the sick were treated. "Let the infirmarer" he says, "provide liberally all things necessary for the sick according to the requirement of their illness, and supply their needs in all respects, according to the advice of the doctor. And if the means at his disposal are insufficient for the wants of the sick, let him explain the case to the abbot and prior. And let the patients be visited every day by the servant of the kitchen and the sub-cellarer, that they may know what diet is prescribed for them by the doctor, under pain of excommunication. The servants of the Infirmary and others who pass through it towards the garden must abstain from all noise, under severe penalties, and a new entrance must be made into the gardens that it may be more easy to keep the sick undisturbed."¹

Equal care was taken to soothe the last hours of the dying; and no pages of the monastic chronicles are more full of human interest than those which describe in loving detail the parting gifts and words and devotions of some lost master. The death of a brother was an occasion for renewing the ties of a larger fellowship. A messenger was at once dispatched with the tidings to the sister monasteries to ask for sympathy and prayers, and one of the Abbots of Gloucester enjoined a small subscription upon the officers of his house to defray the expense of a punctual conveyance of the message.

It will be seen that no special provision was made in the rule for literary work. In the fourteenth century De Rance maintained that a monk had nothing to do with learning. In answering him Matillon was contented to point to the long line of Benedictines to whom we owe more than to any other body what is left to us of the classical literature of Rome. But indeed the schools which

¹See *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. i, p. 91.—ED.

were attached to the English monasteries and the knowledge of the Bible which was required by Benedict's original rule made learning an obligation on the monks who had the opportunity of pursuing it.

While considerable license was allowed in arranging the selections of psalms for the different services, this was absolutely enjoined, that the whole Psalter should be sung every week, "and that," Benedict adds, "as by men who know that they are in the sight of God and angels."

Time was set apart for meditation on Holy Scripture; and I doubt whether any one of us now could fulfil our duties in the choir according to the old law of this church, and recite the appointed lessons from the Old and New Testament at certain services without book. At any rate teaching and study did form a most important part of the Benedictine life in England.

The most illustrious monasteries were the public schools of the country. It is related of the last Abbot of Glastonbury that "near three hundred sons of noblemen and gentlemen were trained under him to a virtuous life, besides others of a meaner rank whom he fitted for the universities."

Again, we owe to Benedictine annalists a large part of the materials for English history. The most important MS. of the Saxon Chronicle, a record as unique and as precious as Domesday Book, was written by a monk of Peterborough. Taylor of Durham, Eadmer, Oderic, William of Malmesbury, Hugh and Benedict of Peterborough, Richard of Devizes, Gervase of Canterbury, Matthew Paris, Walsingham—not to mention other names—were all Benedictines.

The monastery of Gloucester was not, as far as I know, conspicuous for literary work. Gilbert Foliot, the adversary of Becket, was the only Abbot who ever occupied a foremost place in English ecclesiastical life. The chroniclers confined themselves to domestic events.¹ But the cloisters of Gloucester present a

¹ Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle is very valuable to the local historian, especially that part of it which relates to the Wars of the Barons; but there is no proof that he was connected with S. Peter's Abbey.—ED.

unique example of the “carols” (carrels) in which the monks wrote and read. The little closed recess gave the student perfect quiet and seclusion. The glazed window opened a glimpse of the green lawn, and on the opposite wall were ranged the MSS. which had been collected through the long years. One great MS. probably written here in cloisters of an earlier date by Osbern of Gloucester, on the Pentateuch, and on the works of the Lord, which is now in the British Museum, would, I think, well repay examination.¹ And perhaps the literary activity of Gloucester was turned in the direction of Biblical study and instruction, for cloisters were often fitted up for schools and lectures, as well as for private work.

The monasteries were especially schools for the priesthood, and it would be of great interest to determine the part which they took in England in supplying trained teachers for the ministry of the church. The work, however, was not long left to them alone. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the universities began more and more to engross it. The monasteries suffered greatly in every way by this change; but they endeavoured to use the advantages of university training for their own members, and Gloucester took an honourable part in the effort. The Gloucester Chronicler writes:—“In the year 1283, our house at Oxford was founded by Lord John Gifford”—Gloucester Hall, now merged in Worcester College—“a body of monks of Gloucester being solemnly introduced there on St. John the Evangelist’s day by the venerable father Reginald, at that time Abbot of Gloucester.” Other Benedictines took advantage of the foundation, which ranked third, I think, in antiquity among the colleges at Oxford, but this Abbey was obliged to maintain there always three or four of its monks, allowing each of them fifteen marks a year.

The foundation seems to have soon produced fruit. In 1298 a monk of Gloucester, first of all the Benedictine monks in England, attained to the degree of D.D. at Oxford, and his opponent in his exercise was a fellow-monk, who afterwards himself attained the same distinction.² The Chronicler dwells on the

¹Some account of this work will be given in the following pages.—ED.

²These two monks were William de Brok and Richard de Clyve. See Hist. et Cart. S. Pet., vol. i, p. 34.—ED.

incident with evident pride. "The Abbot of Gloucester," he tells us, "was present at his inception with his monks, priors, officers, clerks, esquires, and other men of rank, to the number of a hundred horses. There were present also the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, Malmesbury, and many priors and other monks, who liberally showed their regard for the incepting doctor by divers gifts. Moreover, all the father prelates of our order in almost all the province of Canterbury who were not there sent different presents through their representatives, and so the ceremony was completed to the honour of this house and of the whole of this order."

Occasions like this stirred the still tenour of monastic life; and the history of the monastery of Gloucester was rich in incident. At one time a royal visit,¹ at another a great banquet to the king's justices occupied the monks.² The coronation of the boy king Henry III., the funeral of the murdered Edward II., courageously celebrated by the Abbot, the Parliament held by Richard II., when we read that "the green lawn enclosed by the cloisters was worn bare" by the feet of the noble visitors, formed striking episodes in the annals of St. Peter's.³ But behind all these was the simple, stern, and monotonous rule of the common day's work which we have endeavoured to recall.

From time to time the introduction of a novice to the Chapter and the words of his petition—"Sir, I beseech you and all the Convent for the love of God, our lady St. Mary, Saint John Baptist, and all the holy court of heaven, that ye would receive me, to live

¹ William I. visited Gloucester and S. Peter's Abbey in 1080, 1085, and 1087; William II. in 1093-4 and 1100; Henry I. in 1123; Stephen in 1138-9; Henry II. in 1175; Henry III. in 1216, 1233, 1234, 1235, and 1241; Edward I. in 1278 and 1287; Edward II. in 1320 and 1321; (his body was brought from Berkeley Castle and buried in the Cathedral in 1327); Edward III. in 1327; Richard II. in 1378; Henry IV. in 1407; Henry V. in 1420; Richard III. in 1483; Henry VII. in 1485; and Henry VIII. in 1535.—ED.

²In 1305 the abbot, John de Gamages, sumptuously entertained the King's Justices, Sir William Ynge, Sir William Haward, and Sir Nicholaus Fambur in the great hall of the abbey. Hist. et Cart.. vol. 1, p. 38.—ED.

³This was in 1378. Hist. et Cart., vol. 1, p. 52.—ED.

and die here among you in the state of a monk, as prebendary and servant unto all, unto the honour of God, the solace of the company, the profit of the place, and the health of my soul"—must have stirred fresh thoughts of early devotion in the souls of those to whom the yoke of service was growing heavy. Tidings of violence and distress outside the walls must have given a placid charm to the peace within. Some abbot like John de Gamages, of whom Edward I. said that he was "the most venerable person in his kingdom," or some simple monk, like Adam of Elmley, so holy that it seemed natural that miracles should be wrought at his tomb, must have supported waning faith. But, with every help, such a life as the rule required must have been hard to live from day to day, and from year to year. And we ask, was it indeed lived? was it more than an ideal, when the first fire of enthusiasm had died out?

The question is not altogether easy to answer. The quiet fulfilment of ordinary duty finds no chronicler. That which is exceptional either in service or in neglect, actions which challenge attention because they violate common rules, occupy the pens of ordinary and still more of local historians. So it is that we cannot trust the few contemporary pictures of monastic life which remain as giving its average character. The vivid narrative of Joceline of Brakeland, which Carlyle has brought home to all of us in one of his works, deals only with the organisation of the life.¹ The yet more remarkable chronicle of Evesham deals mainly with two painful episodes in the history of the monastery. But still, when every allowance is made, it can scarcely be doubted that the Benedictine rule of disciplined life was not long followed systematically in its primitive strictness. Considerable relaxations as to the rules on diet, and the arrangement of services were allowed. The dispensing power of the abbots was enlarged in practice if not by law. And, above all, internal corruption was fostered and sheltered by the impunity which came through

¹The Chronicle of Joceline of Brakeland, monk of St. Edmundsbury, giving a remarkable picture of monastic and social life at the end of the twelfth century, was printed by the Camden Society in 1840, and afterwards translated by T. E. Tomlins, under the title of *Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century*.—ED.

ecclesiastical independence. As the monasteries ceased to be national, they fell into intellectual and moral decay.

The chronicle of Evesham, to which I have just referred, offers a striking illustration of these general statements. The most important section of it is the auto-biographical record of Thomas Marlborough, who spent the greater part of his life in the service of the monastery and died there an abbot in 1236. His narrative is mainly occupied with two subjects, the claim of the abbey to be exempt from episcopal visitation and the deposition of an abbot for gross misconduct. There is a tragic irony in the development of the events, and the history becomes an unconscious revelation of the real cause of the fall of the monasteries. It is of the more interest to us now, because in the early days of Gloucester, when it was as yet very poor, Evesham had assisted Serlo with liberal succour.

The claim of Evesham to exemption from the bishop's jurisdiction was presented by appeal in the Papal Court at Rome, before the great Pope Innocent III. Marlborough, who had, it appears, studied law at Paris under Stephen Langton, and afterwards lectured upon it at Oxford before he became monk, was appointed to plead the cause of his abbey. This office he fulfilled with touching devotion and unflagging power. The assertion of the independence of his house was paramount over every other object. The offences of the profligate abbot were for a time condoned in the maintenance of the common cause. Marlborough went with him to Rome in 1204, resolving never to return if he failed in his suit, but, as he says, "to close his days in some religious place in the city weeping over the injury he had inflicted on his Church."

He started on the Feast of Michaelmas and his journey occupied forty days. The Abbot travelled more slowly and, having fallen into trouble at Chalons, was detained there for a time and did not reach Rome till the following March.

Strange scenes followed. The Abbot accused Marlborough of treachery in his conduct of the case. Thomas relates that the

Abbot had designs upon his life, and, after recording his threats, he adds, "I was prepared to defend myself with my knife, which I had fastened on, if he used violence." But the claim of the Abbey prevailed over all private differences, and the Abbot gave Marlborough his blessing when, after a little more than a year, he returned to England, (April 1205), and left him in charge of the case.

It is an interesting trait of Marlborough's energy that he used an interval of six months which followed in studying law at Bologna that he might serve his convent better. The cause was set down for hearing in October, and owing to the unhealthiness of Rome the advocate of the opposite side sacrificed an important advantage to avoid delay. But Marlborough goes on to say, in words which reveal the strength and weakness of the system which he represented, "holding my cause more precious than my life because, as I have often said to you, the matter was as my life and I sought not my own things but the things of Jesus Christ and of my Church, I feared neither delay nor death, desiring if need arise to lay down my life for the freedom of my Church. This I have written to you that you may know that all men are as hirelings in the business of our Church, except monks only, and that you must never entrust the business of our Church to any one without a monk."

The pleadings occupied several days. On December 21 all was finished and the parties awaited the sentence of the Pope.

The account Marlborough gives of the last scene is so full of natural pathos, so strikingly characteristic of the spirit of his order, that it deserves to be quoted at length. When the last papers had been placed in the hands of the Pope "I well knew," he writes, "that there was no further recourse to human means and I betook myself to Divine help, the suffrages of the saints, alms, prayers, and fastings. That was Thursday, and I went round the shrines of the saints, commanding to them myself and the cause of my Church. I gave alms of the goods of the church to every one in need whom I saw, whether they asked or not. I continued

fasting in constant prayer till Saturday, when the decision was given in our favour. On Saturday, very early in the morning, I went to the Court, and clasping the feet of each cardinal as he entered, I showed the intensity of my feeling by tears more than by words, in the hope that they would pity their servants and their church. I offered supplications, and that so pitifully that not only the cardinals but even my adversaries and all who saw me pitied me. At length, as I continued in prayer, about nine o'clock the Lord Pope came out of his chamber with the cardinals. And when he had taken his seat, the servitors of Evesham and Worcester were summoned before him. And when we stood as we were accustomed, opposite one another, the Lord Pope said, "Stand together in the middle. There is now no suit between you. All things are set at rest." At first I could not understand what he said. Afterwards when the chief notary rose to read the decision, and began, 'To the Abbot and brethren of the monastery of Evesham,' my spirit revived. For I knew the Lord Pope's manner of writing, owing to the time which I had spent at the Court, that he addressed the party which gained the suit. And when the notary had read the sentence given in our favour, we both went to the feet of the Lord Pope, winner and loser together, as the custom is, returning thanks, and when I bent myself down to kiss the feet of the Lord Pope I fainted, partly from joy and partly from fasting, so that I could not rise, and the Lord Pope ordered me to be lifted up. And when I had awaked as it were out of a heavy sleep, the Lord Pope told me to receive a memorandum, and when he had given me his blessing, I took the note and retired with joy."

So the cause was won, but the victory brought trouble with it. The freedom of the Abbey was interpreted by the Abbot as practical immunity for himself, and Marlborough had to enter on a new struggle. We need not follow it during the eight years for which it lasted. At length when the Papal legate came to remove the interdict under which the kingdom had been placed, Marlborough appealed to him to redress the wrong. The legate reproached him openly in very vigorous language, and then promised in an undertone that he would visit Evesham. The

legate fulfilled his engagement, and when he came he bade Marlborough disclose his charges. This Marlborough did in a speech which reveals in startling distinctness the power of an unprincipled Abbot.

The law of silence was broken, for the half-starved monks were driven to constant murmuring. Their meals were never regularly served, and for many days they had only the coarsest bread and water. They could not attend church or chapter, or celebrate divine service, for want of sufficient clothing. They were forced to wander about against rule and beg the means of living. Hospitality was wholly neglected. Some members of the household had died of actual starvation. The lands of the Abbey were alienated, the buildings were suffered to fall into ruin, the property was wasted, debts were incurred. Meanwhile the Abbot disregarded the rules of the Order in living and dress and discipline; and openly boasted that he had taken care to provide ample means of securing himself against any accusation. There were also graver charges of habitual immorality behind, which Marlborough only brought forward under pressure. "What has been alleged," he said, "is sufficient for his deposition. Why should I disclose the shame of my father?"

But the disgraceful tale was completed; and Marlborough thus ended: "These things go on from bad to worse. Despair, to use the words of Abner, is perilous. We know that the heart of our Abbot is hardened, and that he has turned away his eyes from the sight of heaven. If you go away and leave him Abbot, all of us who have yet strength to move, except three or four who are his accomplices, will throw down our habits at your feet and go away with you. We will return to the world that in the day of judgment our souls may be required at your hands."

Again Marlborough carried the day; but his own experience should have taught him that the freedom which he had gained for his Abbey was a fatal endowment. To raise it he had stooped to compromise with a dissolute ruler, and when it was secured it would have effectually shielded the same notorious evildoer from

an adversary less resolute and persistent. At the same time it must be noticed that the great body of the monks was with the champion of order and duty. The corruption was personal and not general, and so it was in later time. Even to the last a large proportion of the English monasteries were occupied by men who lived simple God-fearing lives, according to the rule which was prescribed to them, and ministered with zealous care to the poor by whom they were surrounded.

The monasteries fell not so much because they were corrupt as because they had narrowed and diverted to an unworthy aim principles by which they lived. The form in which these principles were originally clothed was provisional and not permanent. The discipline of the cloister was a type of a larger discipline, an example for a wider service. But when the conception should have been developed in healthy growth it was dwarfed. The spirit of the limited brotherhood, the spirit which degenerated into social selfishness, usurped sovereignty under the guise of rightful independence. The example of Evesham, the simple heroic devotion of a man like Marlborough to a false principle reveals what was passing in other English monasteries. Monastic institutions which had once been strongholds of patriotism were more and more alienated from the national religious organisation and from national feeling. Looking to the Pope for protection they tended to become instruments of a foreign power—"colonies," as has been well said by the most competent living judge,¹ "of Roman partizans."

So the end came, the necessary end. That which lives must be in harmony with the whole life by which it is surrounded. But here, under the shadow of monastic buildings, we cannot complacently look to the past and in the temper of curious archaeologists satisfy ourselves with the endeavour to recall the external appearance of a system which has irrevocably passed away.

We are bound to ask, What is this Benedictine life to us now—this effort after systematic service of man and God, this

¹Professor Stubbs.

aspiration after complete self-surrender, this which was at least for a time a fertile source of learning, of art, of personal religion, of social feeling? What is it? I reply without a moment's hesitation, the very staple of our inheritance. There is no end in human things which is not a beginning also, and it is the peculiar glory of English institutions that they preserve continuity through change.

In this respect the Cathedrals of the New Foundation, the institutions without parallel in Christendom, are the appointed representatives of the ancient monasteries. This fact is distinctly brought out in their charters, and among them the Cathedrals of Gloucester and Peterborough are the direct heirs of kindred endowments.

This is not the place nor, I may presume, the time to show how the obligation of their great descent is to be fulfilled. It is enough to say that on us, who are called to work in them, is laid the charge to study under new conditions the law of responsibility, work, and worship, which, as I have endeavoured to indicate, was the inspiration of the order of Benedict; and is there not an open and a growing need of that social labour, of that power of a corporate life, which it may yet quicken and rule?

In times of increasing impatience and restlessness, it seems to me we require almost above all things havens for quiet thought, where reserve shall not be mistaken for doubt, and devout study shall be in advance of action. How few of our leaders are willing to accept the heavy burden of command, or the unpitying sternness of using! How few among ourselves can escape the sad conviction that our best work is desultory, impulsive, intermittent! How few Englishmen habitually acknowledge that divine worship is something more than an exercise for private edification; that it is the embodiment of the loftiest and deepest feelings of the national soul; that art is not a private luxury, but like Nature herself, of which it is the human commentary, the heritage of the people for the ennobling of the poorest! How few of us ever have cause to reflect that vast Cathedrals like Peterborough and Gloucester were the chapels of a society of a hundred monks, reared

not to satisfy a base want, but to symbolise a great faith. There may have been rare occasions in which they were crowded from end to end, as when Wolsey kept his last Easter at Peterborough in the presence, it is said, of ten thousand worshippers. But from day to day these cathedrals were habitually occupied in the middle ages by a congregation no larger than at present. They were not, however, to be desolate or untenanted. They were felt then to be monumental expressions of spiritual thoughts, strivings to embody in a universal language feelings, aspirations, conceptions, which neither men nor nations can afford to neglect.

As soon as the thought finds expression it finds welcome. A cathedral like this stands still among us, as I believe, to bring to the confession the benediction of promise. How the promise will find fulfilment I do not venture to prophesy. Of this, however, I am sure—that it will not be by legislation, but by the spontaneous attractiveness of a great ideal. There is a power of eloquence in buildings which seems to me to make them the voice of the nation. Gatherings like these, a society like this for which I have the honour to speak, may encourage us to try to interpret the message which comes to us through those works which appeal directly to ourselves. Our cathedrals, our monastic cathedrals, are left that we may all listen to them. They are not ruins, and they are not sepulchres, but homes still ; they are not monuments to the dead, but signs to the living.

CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS OF INTEREST

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER,
AND THE CATHEDRAL,

EXHIBITED AT THE CONVERSAZIONE,

THURSDAY, APRIL 5TH, 1883.

COLLECTIONS OF ORIGINAL DEEDS AND SEALS.

Lent by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester :—

Collection 1.

(1)—Grant of arms by Christopher Barker, Esq., als Gartier principall King of arms of Englissmen to the Trynyte Church of Gloucester, William Jenyns, Henry Wyllis, James Vaughan, Edward Bennett, John Huntley and Thos. Kyngewode fyrist Prebendaries.

Dated 28 March, 33 Henry VIII., 1542.

Illuminated MS. The Garter King of Arms within the letter ; arms: az., a fess or, charged with 3 crosses formé fitché of the 1st. In chief a canton or, charged with a demi-rose with beams gu., between 2 demi fleurs de lys of the 1st.

(2)—Grant of Endowment to the Dean and Chapter. Dated 4 Sept. 34, Henry VIII., 1542, and signed by "Southampton" and "Southwell."

Within the initial letter  is an etching of the King, sitting on the throne, and holding the regalia. See Atkyns, 2nd Edit: p. 79.

Collection 2.—Specimen on view.

Grant by Abbot Reginald to Master Thomas de Stokes, of a house in Gloucester. Date c. 1280.

The witnesses to the deeds are John Payne and Alexander de Bikenore, Bailiffs of Gloucester, 1278—1282. Reginald de Hamme was Abbot of St. Peter's 1263—1284. Fine seal of Abbot Reginald.

Collection 3.—Specimen on view.

Concession by John Crofton to Richard Earl of Warwick, Sir Lewis Talbot, Richard Beauchamp, William Notynham, Attorney General of the King, John Hayward, Thomas Byseley, John Dodyng, Richard Bacheler and Thomas Dunstable, of the manors of Mattesdon and Sneedham, with various Messuages in Upton St. Leonards, Sneedham, Saintbridge, Mattesdon, and Gloucester. Witnesses, Thomas Bokeland, John Hilles, Bailiffs of Gloucester and others. Dated Sunday after S. Peter's Day, 36 Henry VI., 1547.

The Bailiffs of Gloucester have attached their seal, as the seal of John Crofton, he says, may not be well known. These manors and messuages were conceded by Sir William Nottingham to the Abbey of St. Peter, 1 August 10 Ed. iv., 1471, and were probably the last important donation to the Abbey. Fine Seal of the Bailiffs of Gloucester.

Collection 4.—Specimen on view.

Grant of Hameline, Abbot of St. Peter's, 1148-1179, to William Carpenterius of land near Fulbrook, in the neighbourhood of Gloucester.

Fine Seal of Abbot Hameline.

Collection 5.—Specimen on view.

Inspeccimus and copies of muniments relating to Grants to St. Peter's Abbey, by Hugh Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, made by Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Date 1394.

Fine Seal of Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY.

Lent by the Dean and Chapter:—

Some fragments of Anglo-Saxon MSS.

Three leaves, apparently written about 985, describe several miracles performed at the tomb of S. Swidhun, Bishop of Winchester, 852 to 862; and three others, apparently of an earlier hagiology, are disjointed fragments of Life of S. Mary of Egypt. These were found in the covers of the Registers of Abbots Braunche and Newton.

Facsimiles of the fragments with notes, and an essay on the life and times of S. Swidhun, were published by the Rev. John Earle in 1861, the year after the visit of the Royal Archaeological Institute to Gloucester.

MS. History of the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester. Date c. 1410.

This MS. gives a history of St. Peter's from the time of Osric, 681, to the Abbacy of Walter Froucester, 1381—1412. It has been lately purchased by the Dean and Chapter, from a bookseller at Berlin.

MS. Register of gifts to St. Peter's Abbey, compiled by Abbot Froucester, 1381—1412.

MS. Registers of the ten great Officers of St. Peter's, comprising nearly 1000 charters relating to the Abbey. Compiled by Abbot Froucester, 1381—1412.

MS. Registers of Abbot Braunche, 1500—1510, and Abbot Newton, 1510—1511.

The covers of this MS. are especially interesting, as having for several centuries enshrined the fragments of the early Saxon MSS. mentioned above.

MS. Register of Abbot Parker, Vol. I.

This MS. contains the principal acts and concessions of William Parker from 1514 to 1529.

MS. Register of Abbot Parker, Vol. II., 1529 to 1538.

This MS. had been lost for many years, and was discovered a short time ago amongst the muniments of the Dean and Chapter.

PRINTED BOOKS FROM THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY.

Lent by the Dean and Chapter:—

Seven volumes of John Hooper's Works.

John Hooper was Bishop of Gloucester, 1550—1554.

These volumes were formerly in the possession of George Stokes, Esq., the founder of the Parker Society, and were presented to the Cathedral Library by Miss Stokes in 1878.

(1.)—A declaration of Christ and of his Offyce, compylyd by Johan Hoper, anno 1547. Matth. 7. *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene cōplacuit, ipsum audite.*

(2.)—Reprint of the same in 1582.

(3.)—An ouersight and deliberacion upon the holy prophete Jonas; made, and uttered before the Kynges majestie, and his most honorable councell, by Jhon Hoper in lent last past. Comprehended in seuē sermons. Anno M.D.L. Excepte ye repente, ye shall al peryshe. Luke xij. Cum priuilegio ad imprimentum solum.

(4)—A Declaration of the ten holy cōmaundementes of all mygthyne God. Wroten Exo. 20, Deu. 5. Collectyd out of the Scripture Canonicall, by Joanne Hopper. ‘Cum and se,’ Joan., Anno M.D. XLVIII.

(5.)—Reprint of the same in M.D.L.

(6.)—Reprint of the same c. 1578—1588.

(7.)—A funerall oratyon made the xiiij. day of January, by John Hoper, the yere of our saluation 1549, upon the texte wrytyne in the Reuelatyone of Sayncte Johne, Ca. 14. I Thessalo 4. Murne not as other do which haue no hope.

The Book of Common Prayer, printed by authority in London 1662, together with the Royal letter and great seal of Chas. II.

This is generally known as the Sealed Prayer Book.

The Book of Common Prayer, printed by John Baskett, at Oxford, 1715.

This edition is interesting as containing a form of service for the healing of the king's evil. The registers of St. John's Church, Gloucester, contain an entry that Mary Church was touched for the king's evil in 1683.

List of contributors to the College Library, founded by Thomas Pury, jun., in 1648.

This book contains also a catalogue of the books under fifteen heads. The chain which fastened the book to the reading desk is still attached to it. It is proposed to give a full account of this book in the “Records of the Cathedral.”

Facsimile of Domesday Book of Gloucestershire.

On p. 8 there is an account of the possessions of St. Peter's Abbey. For a translation see Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, p. 71.

Illuminated list of the Freemasons who were subscribers to the new Reredos, presented to the Cathedral, 5th June, 1873.

The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire, by Sir Robert Atkyns, Knt. The Second Edition. mdclxvij.

On page 65 there is a view of the south prospect of Gloucester Cathedral.

A new History of Gloucestershire. Cirencester, printed by Samuel Rudder, 1779.

pp. 131—151 give an account of Saint Peter's Abbey, and the Abbots, &c., of that Monastery.

Annals of the three Choirs, by Lysons and John Arnott.

Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts respecting the County of Gloucester. By Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke. 2 vols., Gloucester, 1807.

Opposite page 182 there is a view of "The entrance from Gloucester Cathedral to the great Cloister."

Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections, relative to the County of Gloucester. By Ralph Bigland, Esq., Garter principal king of arms. London, 1791.

This volume carries the history alphabetically down as far as Minsterworth.

History and Antiquities of Gloucester Cathedral, by John Britton, F.S.A., 1829.

This book contains an admirable essay on the Abbey of Gloucester, by the Rev. John Webb.

Hereford Missale. Dominica prima adventus domini. Incipit missale scd'n usum Herford. D'nica prima in aduentu. Ad missam. Introitus.

Many Dioceses in pre-Reformation times had their own Use or Missale. The rubric for the first Sunday in Advent shows that this is the Hereford Missale. Date c. 1530. This Missale was given to the Library by John Donne.

Dugdale's Monasticon. 3 vols. London, 1655.

Vol. 1 (pp. 108—120) gives an account of the foundation and history of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. There is a view of the Cathedral on p. 109, with the arms of George Berkeley.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs. 3 vols., fol., London, 1684.

Vol. 3 (pp. 119—137) gives an account of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester (1550—1554). On page 128 is a rude representation of Hooper's martyrdom in St. Mary-de-Lode Square. This took place on Saturday, February 9th, 1555, in the presence of the Queen's Commissioners, Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, Sir Anthony Kingston, Chief Steward of St. Peter's Abbey, 1536—1540, and Sir Edmund Bridges, grantee of Prinknash Park, a residence of the last Abbot. Bishop Hooper seems to have spent the two nights before his execution in the house of Robert Ingram, chief porter of St. Peter's Abbey, 1536—1540.

Memoir of Gabriel Godman, D.D. Ruthin, 1825.

Pp. 57—87 give an account of his son, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1624—1655.

Willis's Cathedrals of England. 3 vols., London, 1727.

Vol. 2 (pp. 691—757) gives an account of Gloucester Cathedral.

Coverdale's Bible—1535.

This bible contains a title page, seven leaves on which are (1), the dedication to King Henry VIII., with these words "unto you most gracyous Prynce, with your dearest iust wylfe and most vertuous Pryncesse, Queen Anne. Amen." and concluding "Your Grace's humble subiecte and dayly oratour, Myles Coverdale." (2) "A prologue, Myles Coverdale unto the Christen reader." (3) The bookes of the Hole Byble," and (4) "The first booke of Moses called Genesis what this boke conteyneth the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament.

Fol. i. of the Old Testament commences with 6 woodcuts representing the 6 dayes worke of creation. Fol. cxiii. of the New Testament ends with "Prynted in the yeare of oure Lorde, MDXXXV., and fynished the fourth daye of October."

Some one has inserted between the frontispiece and dedication "The order howe the rest of holy scripture, besyde the psalter is appointed to be read."

The title page has the date MDXXXVI.

In some of the copies of this work, "Jane" is substituted for "Anno;" but Mr. Francis Fry, in his work on Coverdale's Bible, suggests that where this is done, a leaf of Nycolson's edition of 1537 has been inserted.

Most of this edition is said to have been printed at Zurich by Froshover.

The title page however and the following leaves are thought by Mr. Fry to have been printed by Nycolson of Southwark.

A series of Congés d'élires of the Bishops of Gloucester, with Great Seals attached, and of letters commendatory to the Dean and Chapter.

CHARTERS.

Lent by Mr. K. H. Fryer, Town Clerk:—

Charter of Foundation of the Bishoprick of Gloucester by Henry VIII. 3rd September, 33 Henry VIII., 1541.

Within the initial letter  is an illuminated drawing of the King presenting this Charter to some Ecclesiastics.

Exemplification of the Act of Parliament for vesting the Cathedral Church of Gloucester in the Mayor and Burgesses of the City of Gloucester. Dated 4th August, 1657.

Within the initial letter  is a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector. The great seal is attached to the Charter.

An award of Edward, the Black Prince, upon a dispute between the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's and the Warden and Convent of Friars Minors or Grey Friars, as to the right of water conveyed in a leaden pipe from Mattesdon Hill to Gloucester.

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS.

Lent by the Rev. P. Norris, Rector of Buckland:—

Remains of a Cope, hand embroidered, from Buckland Monachorum. Date 14th or 15th Century.

Buckland Church was in the gift of the Abbot and Convent of S. Peter's, who also possessed the Manor. Thomas Parker, brother of the last Abbot, was vicar of Buckland, 1512—1515; and it was probably through him that this cope was presented to the Church.

Lent by the Rev. W. Balfour, Vicar of Minsterworth:—

Ancient Cope from Minsterworth Church, used formerly as a Pulpit cloth. Supposed to have belonged to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and to have been given to the parishioners of Minsterworth after the Dissolution.

Minsterworth Church is not mentioned in the Chartularies and Registers of St. Peter's Abbey. The Abbot possessed a fishery there called Dunywere.

COLLECTION OF OIL PAINTINGS AND WATER COLOURS.

(KINDLY MADE BY MR. J. KEMP, THE SCHOOL OF ART, GLOUCESTER.)

Paintings in Water Colour (W.); in Oil (O.).

Lent by Mr. and Mrs. T. S. Ellis:—

1. View of Gloucester from Kingsholm. (W.)	<i>J. Kemp.</i>
2. S. Oswald's Priory. (W.)	<i>Mrs. T. S. Ellis.</i>
3. Cathedral Crypt. (W.)	<i>Mrs. T. S. Ellis.</i>

Lent by Mr. W. Viner Ellis:—

4. Cathedral Tower. (W.)	<i>J. Hawkins.</i>
5. S. Philip's Chapel. (W.)	<i>J. Hawkins.</i>
6. Lavatory in Cloisters. (W.)	<i>J. Hawkins.</i>
7. Cloisters.	<i>J. Hawkins.</i>

Lent by Mr. J. Jones:—

8. Bull Lane, with Cathedral Tower. (W.)	<i>J. Kemp.</i>
9. Cathedral, from College Gardens. (W.)	<i>Lady Seymour.</i>

Lent by Mrs. H. P. Jones:—

10. North Aisle of Nave. (O.)	<i>Mrs. H. P. Jones.</i>
11. Triforium. (W.)	<i>Mrs. H. P. Jones.</i>

Lent by Miss M. H. Jones :—

12. The Crypt. (W.) *Miss M. H. Jones.*
Lent by Miss M. H. Burrup :—

13. View from College Gardens. (W.) *Miss M. H. Burrup.*

14. Cathedral and Deanery, from Palace } Yard. (W.) } *Miss M. H. Burrup.*

15. Cathedral, from Kingsholm Meadows. (W.) *Miss M. H. Burrup.*

16. South Aisle. (W.) *Miss M. H. Burrup.*

Lent by Mr. R. C. Barnfield :—

17. Gloucester, from Matson. (W.) *R. C. Barnfield.*

18. Crypt. (O.) *R. C. Barnfield.*

Lent by the Honorable Misses Rice :—

19. View of Gloucester and the Cathedral, } from Vineyard Hill. (c. 1710.) (O.) } *Painter unknown.*

Lent by Miss K. Wingate :—

20. South Ambulatory. (W.) *Miss K. Wingate.*
Lent by Mrs. Sheppard :—

21. Door into Choir. (W.) *J. H. Brown.*

22. The Slyp. (W.) *J. Hawkins.*

Lent by Mr. J. H. Billett :—

23. Crypt. (Chalk.) *Miss C. Kemp.*
Lent by Miss Graves :—

24. Entrance to Choir from North Ambulatory. (W.) *Miss Graves.*
Lent by Mr. G. H. Monk :—

25. Crypt. (O.) *G. H. Monk.*
Lent by Miss G. Commeline :—

26. Entrance to S. Paul's Chapel. (W.) *Miss G. Commeline.*
Lent by Miss P. Miles :—

27. Monuments on South Wall of Sth. Transept. (W.) *Miss P. Miles.*
Lent by Miss M. A. Heath :—

28. The Pilgrim's Gate. (W.) *Miss M. A. Heath.*
Lent by Miss F. Helps :—

29. S. John's Chapel. (W.) *Miss F. Helps.*

30. Tomb of R. Pates. (W.) *Miss F. Helps.*
Lent by Mr. James P. Knight, Cheltenham :—

31. Pitt Street. (W.) *J. Kemp.*
Lent by Miss Agnes Waddy :—

32. Exterior of Cathedral, from North-East. (W.) *Miss A. Waddy.*

33. Lady Chapel, looking West. (W.) *Miss A. Waddy.*

34. The Choir. (W.) *Miss A. Waddy.*

Lent by Mr. Walter Lifton :—

35. Sketch in Palace Yard. (O.) *Walter Lifton.*
Lent by Mrs. Fletcher :—

36. N.E. View of Cathedral. (W.) *J. D. Harding.*
 37. S.W. View of Cathedral. (W.) *J. D. Harding.*
Lent by Miss A. Waddy :—

38. Entrance to Choir from Sth. Ambulatory. (W.) *Miss A. Waddy.*
Lent by Miss G. Sumsion :—

39. The Ambulatory. (Sepia.) *Miss G. Sumsion.*
Lent by Miss Thomas :—

40. The Reliquary. (Sepia.) *Miss A. Thomas.*
Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton :—

41. The Western Gate of the Abbey. (O.)

42. Palace Yard. (O.) *R. Curzon.*
Lent by Mr. A. Thomas :—

43. A Collection of Photographs of the Cathedral. *A. Thomas.*
Lent by Mr. E. Washbourn :—

The Burning of Bishop Hooper. (O.) *Beecham.*
Lent by the Dean of Gloucester :—

The Cathedral, taken from within the Great West Gate of the
 Abbey. (O.)

PORTRAITS IN OILS.

Lent by Mr. Hanson :—

John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, } After engraving by R. Houston.
 1550—1554. }

Lent by the Bishop of Bath and Wells :—

Portrait of Archbishop Laud.

William Laud was installed as Dean of Gloucester in 1616; promoted to the see of S. David's 1621; translated to Bath and Wells, 1626; London, 1628; and Canterbury, 1633. He was beheaded, 10th of January, 1645.

Lent by the Dean of Gloucester :—

The Seven Bishops.

Imprisoned in the Tower by James II., 1688, for declining to sign the Declaration of Indulgence.

Lent by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol :—

Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, 1680—1690.

Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, 1691—1714.

Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, 1733—1752.

William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, 1759—1779. *Hoare.*

James Henry Monk, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 1836—1856.

Lent by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester:—

Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, 1758—1799.

Lent by Lord Dynes:—

Edward Rice, Dean of Gloucester, 1826—1862.

Coloured photograph.

COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS, MEZZOTINTS, &c.

PORTRAITS OF BISHOPS OF GLOUCESTER.

Lent by Mr. A. C. Hooper, Worcester:—

John Hooper, 1550—1554. (M.) *R. Houston fecit.*

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton:—

Edward Fowler, 1691—1714. (M.) *G. Kneller pinx. J. Smith fec. et ex. 1717.*

Richard Willis, 1714—1721. (M.) *M. Dahl pinx. Simon fecit.*

Sold by E. Cooper, at the "Three Pigeons," in Bedford Street. A very scarce portrait.

Joseph Wilcocks, 1721—1731. (M.) *E. Seeman, jun., pinxit. I. Simon fecit.*

Martin Benson, 1733—1752. *J. Richardson pinxit. Geo. Virtue sculpsit 1739.*

William Warburton, 1759—1779. *Hoare pinx. Jno. Hall sculp. 1784.*

From the original picture in Gloucester Palace.

Richard Beadon, 1789—1802. *Painted by L. F. Abbott. Engraved by G. S. Facius.*

Geo. Isaac Huntingford, 1802—1815. *Drawn by J. Jackson. Engraved by H. Meyer.*

From the original picture by Sir Thos. Laurence, in the Warden's Gallery, Winchester College.

Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton:—

Henry Ryder, 1815—1824. *After Pickersgill by Say.*

Lent by Mr. J. J. Powell, Q.C.:—

Christopher Bethell, 1824—1830. (M.) *After Gordon by Lupton.*

Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton:—

Jas. Henry Monk, 1836—1856. *After Buckner by W. Walker.*

Lent by the Bishop of Gloucester:—

Charles Baring, 1856—1861. (Lith.) *A. Arnst.*

William Thomson, 1861—1863.

Charles John Ellicott, cons. 1863.

OTHER PORTRAITS.

Lent by Mrs. Allen, Pitt Street:—

J. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Gloucester. *After Pickersgill by Say.*

Lent by the Hon. Elianore Mary Rice Trevor:—

The Hon. Edward Rice, Dean of Gloucester, 1826—1862. (Photo.)

Lent by the Dean of Gloucester:—

Francis Jeune, D.C.L., Master of Pembroke College and Canon of Gloucester Cathedral. *After Tweedie.*

Lent by the Rev. George James:—

Edward Bankes, Canon of Gloucester Cathedral. (Phot.)

Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton:—

Ralph Bigland, Historian of the County. (M.) *After Brompton by Townley.*

Lent by Mr. W. Byard:—

Wm. Mutlow, 51 years Organist of the Cathedral, 1781—1832.

MONUMENTS.

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton:—

Robert, Duke of Normandy.

From “Sandford’s Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England.”

The same.

Proof impression from “Fosbrooke’s History of Gloucester.”

Monument ascribed to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.

Date of armour, c. 1406.

From “Gough’s Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain.”

Monument of Abbot Seabroke, 1457.

From “Gough’s Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain.”

The Body of Abbot Wigmore. *Jno. Cooke del. J. Basire sc.*

Drawn on the opening of his coffin.

Three Views of the Tomb of King Edward II.

Showing the Tomb before the addition to the Canopy.

View of an uncommon piece of Sculpture in the South Transept.

("The Freemason's Square.")

Published by John Carter, Wood Street, Westminster, Nov. 1st, 1785.

VIEWS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton :—East End of the Library. *S. Lysons.*The Choir. *Jno. Coney.*The Lady Chapel, looking west. (Proof.) *S. Lysons.*The Crypt. *S. Lysons.*The Great Cloisters. *S. Lysons.*A Screen, erected before the Choir in 1741. *Designed by Mr. Kent.**John Vardy.**Lent by Mr. J. J. Powell, Q.C.* :—Three small Views of the Interior. *After Ansted by Le Keux.*View of the Choir. (French litho.) *By Jules Arnout.**Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton* :—

Abbot Seabroke's Crozier. (Phot.)

Found in 1741 in the coffin of that Abbot. This crozier is now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle.

VIEWS OF THE EXTERIOR.

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton :—

The South Prospect of the Conventual Church of Gloucester.

D. King.

South View. Proof.

South-west View and Deanery. Proof.

South-west View, with 10 small Perspective Views. *T. Bonnor.*

"Bonnor's Itinerary."

South-west View. *J. Coney.*South View. *J. Kip.*

From "Atkyns' History of Gloucestershire."

Lent by Mrs. Allen, Pitt Street :—South-west View. Drawn and etched by Buckler. Engraved by *G. Lewis.*

Lent by Mr. W. Byard:—

North Side and College School. *Litho.*

Before the present School Building.

Lent by Mr. H. Jeffs:—

Gloucester Cathedral.

Taken after the great thunderstorm of July, 1808, when one of the western pinnacles was blown off, as is here represented.

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton:—

King Henry VIII. granting the See of Gloucester to John Wakeman, A.D. 1541. *Coloured. Tovey 1798.*

From the original illumination in the “Archives of the City of Gloucester.”

VIEWS OF THE CITY AND CATHEDRAL.

Lent by Mr. H. W. Bruton:—

A South-west Prospect of the City of Gloucester, taken on Llanthony Causey.

No date, place of publication, or engraver; but stated to be by “J. Lewis.” A very interesting and rare engraving.

North-west Prospect of the City of Gloucester. *S. & N. Buck 1734.*

The West Prospect of Gloucester.

Two views of this print exhibited. The one, from the 1st edition of Atkyns’ “Gloucestershire,” dedicated “to Sir John Powell, Judge of the Queen’s Bench”; the other, from the 2nd edition of Atkyns’ “Gloucestershire”—the same plate, with an altered line of dedication—“to the Mayor and Aldermen.” This is the only instance of an alteration of a plate in Atkyns.

Gloucester from Robins Wood Hill. *J. Burden del. W. Poole sculp.*

Plan of the City. *J. Kip.*

From Atkyns’ “Gloucestershire.”

Map of the City and County. *John Speede 1611.*

Gloucester Cross. *G. Virtue.*

Published by Society of Antiquaries, 1751.

The West Gate. *S. Lysons 1802.*

The West Gate. *T. Ravenhill.*

The West Gate and Cathedral. *From a drawing by C. Cotton 1793.*

The West Gate. (A small etching.) *Dated January 1766.*

The Grey Friars. *Lysons.*

The Black Friars. *E. Kirkall 1721.*

The Bishop’s Palace. *H. Storer 1815.*

Lent by Mr. J. P. Wilton :—

Some Account of Gloucester Cathedral, illustrative of the plans, elevations, and sections of the building. *By J. Carter* 1809.

Mr. J. P. Wilton has inserted a very fine collection of engravings and photographs of the Cathedral and Cathedral Dignitaries. For list, see *Gloucester Journal*, April 7th, 1883.

Lent by Mr. J. J. Powell, Q.C. :—

Fosbrooke's History of Gloucester, fol. 1819.

This work is interleaved and profusely illustrated with pen and ink drawings, engravings, and portraits of eminent men connected with the city and Cathedral.

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS.

Lent by Mr. F. S. Waller :—

1. Three plans of the Crypt of the Cathedral.
2. Sections of the Choir, with Choir Aisles and Triforium.
3. Plan of foundations of Reredos, showing remains of old Norman piers at the east end of the Choir.
4. Two sheets showing ancient Masons' marks.

Lent by Mr. H. Medland :—

1. Measured drawing of West Gateway to Cathedral Close.

Lent by Mr. C. N. Tripp :—

1. Measured drawing of West Gateway to Cathedral Close.
2. Measured drawing of Tomb in South Aisle of Nave.
3. Full-size drawing of Brass to the memory of the Rev. H. Haines.

VIEWS OF DEPENDANT CELLS AND CHURCHES OF ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER.

Bromfield Church, &c., Co. Shropshire.

Lent by the Rev. W. Selwyn, Vicar of Bromfield :—

- (1.)—General view of Bromfield Church from N.W.
- (2.)—View of West End of Bromfield Church.
- (3.)—The old doorway of the Priory of Bromfield.

The College of Canons of Bromfield was given by the Canons to S. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, in 1155. At the Dissolution it was granted to Charles ffox.

Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire.

Lent by Mrs. Attwood Matthews :—

Work on Kilpeck, containing 28 views by C. R. Lewis, 1842.

The Priory of Kilpeck was given as a cell to S. Peter's, Gloucester, by Hugh, son of William Fitz Norman, A.D. 1134.

Ewenny Church, near Bridgend.

Lent by the Rev. J. Jones, Rector of Ewenny :—

(1.)—South West view of Ewenny Priory, by Sam. Buck, 1741. 2.—Interior view from North Transept. 3.—Interior view from South Transept.

Ewenny Priory was founded by John de Londres, and given in 1140 as a cell to Gloucester Abbey. It was granted at the Dissolution to Sir Edward Carne.

Leonard Stanley Priory, Gloucestershire.

Lent by the Rev. W. Bazeley, Rector of Matson :—

Two etchings from old engravings of the Priory Church and Conventional Buildings.

The College of Canons of Leonard Stanley was given by Roger de Berkeley, 1139—1149, to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. At the Dissolution the site of the Priory was granted to Sir William Kingston. St. Peter's had two more dependant cells, the Priories of St. Guthlac, Hereford, and Ewias Harold.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OF INTEREST.

Lent by the Dean and Chapter :—

Two Renaissance Silver-gilt Candlesticks.

Bearing date mark 1661—2; lion passant; leopard's head crowned; and the maker's mark, a greyhound, with necklace and bell. Probably bought immediately after the Restoration, by Dean Thomas Vyner. Mottoes: Lumen Gentium Jesus, Luc. ii., 32; and (2) Ut Luminare vos, Phil. ii., 15.

Arms of the Dean and Chapter painted on glass, as granted by Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, 1542.

Lent by the Rev. W. Bazeley :—

Rubbing of the Brass of Thomas Delamere, Abbot of S. Albans, who died 1396.

This rubbing is exhibited, as giving the finest example in England of the effigy of a mitred Abbot in full pontificals.

Lent by Mr. Cecil Davis :—

Rubbing of the Brass of John Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford, 1344—1361.

Lent by the Rector of Buckland :—

Mazer Bowl, belonging to the Parish Church of Buckland.

Inscription: “ Willielmus Longmore, me fecit anno domini 1607 ; Magister Wingfield, Rector de Buckland, huic poculo addidit aliquid ornatus.” There is a little disc at the bottom of the bowl, parcel gilt, with the figure of S. Margaret trampling on the dragon and thrusting the butt-end of the long crozier into his mouth ; evidently part of a mediæval chalice.

Lent by the Trustees of the Gloucester Museum :—

Bishop Hooper's Stake.

See Mr. J. Bellows' Monograph, read before the Cotswold Club, 1878.

Lent by Mr. W. C. Lucy :—

A Chronogram, engraved on the Wall-plate of Brookthorpe Church Porch.

A notice of this will appear in the “ Records.”

Lent by the Archdeacon of Gloucester :—

Bishop Frampton's Arms, as they appear on his Tomb in Standish Church.

The Tomb is covered by a flat stone, and lies on the north side of the Communion Table.

The Inscriptions on Standish Church Bells.

See Ellacombe's “ Gloucestershire Church Bells,” p. 64.

“ Ordinatio Vicarie de Standysh,” A.D. 1348.

A MS. extract from the Registry of the Consistory Court of Worcester. Translation of the above.

It is hoped that a full account of Standish Manor, Almonry and Church, all of which belonged to St. Peter's Abbey, will appear in the “ Records.”

Lent by Mr. H. Jeffs :—

A collection of Charges by Bishops of Gloucester, and other tracts relating to the Cathedral.

HISTORIC MONUMENTS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

By SIR W. V. GUISE, BART.

Of all countries there is none which enshrines within its sacred buildings so large, so ancient, or so varied examples of monumental sculpture as are to be found in England. In Scotland and Ireland such examples are comparatively rare. Whether this be owing to the disturbed condition of those nations in early and mediæval times, or to the absence of wealth to expend on such costly memorials of the dead, does not appear; but the fact remains, account for it how we may. France, previous to the Revolution, was probably as rich as ourselves in royal, noble, and knightly effigies—nay, even more so, as their civilisation was of an earlier date than ours; and the destruction of the effigies of their early kings in the abbeys of St. Denis and the rifling of their tombs remains to this day one of the most shameful acts of barbarism of that most barbarous time, and an irreparable loss to the historian and antiquary. Let us be thankful that to us are spared such abundant memorials of the great and worthy of other days, deeply interesting and instructive as they are, not only as preserving the dress and arms of the period to which they belong, but as records which recall the actors in past scenes of our national history in a manner in which nothing else can.

I propose for my subject to-night to offer a few observations on some of the historic monuments of the Cathedral. And here it is to be observed that of all the religions of the world, the Christian alone has permitted the burial of the dead within the walls of its sacred edifices. But it was not always so. By Roman law it was strictly forbidden to bury within the walls of cities, and for the space of three centuries of the Christian era

there is no evidence that this law was ever broken. The earliest recorded instance of its infraction is believed to be that of Constantine the Great, who was buried in the Narthêx, or porch of the temple of the Apostles, at Constantinople, A.D. 337. After this period, though condemned by successive Councils of the Church, the custom of intramural interment became more frequent, and, restricted at first to exceptional usage in the case of Royal benefactors, it was gradually extended to founders and benefactors generally, and ultimately to those of noble and knightly rank who were willing to pay for the privilege. Hence it arises that we are indebted to this custom for the preservation among us of monuments of the highest value and importance to the antiquary, the artist, and the historiographer.

The Cathedral contains within its walls three monuments of historic importance—(1) that of Osric, King of Northumberland. (2), that of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and (3) that of King Edward II.

Of Osric but little is known. He succeeded Kenred in 718, and reigned eleven years. Authorities differ as to the exact date of his death, but it suffices to state that it occurred between the years 728 and 732, when he was succeeded by Ceolwulf, brother of his predecessor, Kenred.¹ He is mentioned by Bede as *Rex Huiciorum* in 690, in which kingdom Gloucester was situated, which accounts for his founding a monastery in that place; for *Huiccia* embraced the counties of Worcester and Gloucester, with parts of Herefordshire and Warwickshire, and after its conquest, about the middle of the 7th century, by Mercia, was governed by sub-kings under the kings of that country.

Leland states that Osric, with the license of *Æthelred*, King of Mercia, first founded a monastery at Gloucester, A.D. 681, into which he put nuns, and made his sister Kineburga abbess thereof. This religious establishment lasted only 86 years, when it was wasted by war and the nuns were expelled. Although Osric is

¹ Florence of Worcester says that Osric, King of the Northumbrians, died on the 7th of the Ides of March (May 9th), 729.—ED.

regarded as the first founder of the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, there is good reason for believing that Osric's edifice did not occupy any portion of the site of the present cathedral, but was placed somewhat to the north of it; nevertheless, his effigy as the reputed founder occupies a position in the choir near to the monument of Abbot Parker, to whose time may be referred the memorial to King Osric. The figure, which is rudely sculptured, and in a stone different from that of the rest of the monument, represents a bearded man, in a robe descending to his feet, with a coronet on his head, holding in his hands the model of a church. The effigy is recumbent on an altar-tomb with a canopy above, in the spandrels of which are sculptured on one side the Arms of Abbot Parker the last abbot, and on the other the attributive arms of Osric (a cross between four Lions rampant.) On the wall was painted an inscription in old English letters, now nearly effaced, which originally ran thus:—*Osricus Rex Fundator Hujus Monasterii.* Of this only the first words are now legible. The figure may have been roughly wrought of purpose, with a view to give it an appearance of antiquity, or it may really be of a date anterior to the canopied tomb whereon it rests, which clearly corresponds with the period of Abbot Parker, who at the commencement of the 16th century would seem to have erected the monument adjoining to his own, and to have stamped it with his arms.¹

The next monument of which I shall treat is that of Robert, Duke of Normandy, which is in some respects one of the most remarkable effigies in existence. It is of unknown date. Many antiquaries are disposed to doubt of its great age. Yet there are particulars in the costume which seem to me to point to its execution at a time not very remote from that in which the unfortunate Prince lived. Resting on a mortuary chest is the figure of Duke Robert, carved in oak, and painted to represent life; he appears as cross-legged, armed in chain mail, with short "chausses de maille" on his legs. Over his armour he wears a long red robe or surcote, over which is buckled his sword-belt

¹See "Extracts from Leland's Itinerary" in the following pages.—ED.

with sword attached, the hilt of which he grasps with his right hand ; on his head he wears a ducal coronet above a frank, open, and handsome countenance, and on his feet are buckled the spurs of knighthood.

At the period of the civil wars between the King and the Parliament, this figure was broken into several pieces, and was only saved from destruction by the intervention of Sir Humphrey Tracy of Stanway. After the troubles were over, the figure was put together and restored to the Cathedral.

The mortuary chest on which the figure rests is probably not older than the 15th century ; but it by no means follows that the effigy and the chest are contemporaneous. Around the chest are a series of shields bearing coats of arms which have been repainted in a barbarous style ; they are ten in number, nine of which were originally intended to commemorate the nine worthies of the world.

1. Joshua.
2. David.
3. Judas Maccabeus.
4. Heetor.
5. Alexander.
6. Julius Cæsar.
7. Arthur of Britain.
8. Charlemagne.
9. Godfrey of Bouillon.

These vary in different accounts, but in the instance referred to they appear thus :—Dexter Side—1. Gules, a pile azure, between two lions combattant or—*Hector*. 2. Or, a double-headed eagle displayed sable—*Julius Cæsar*. 3. Azure, a harp or—*David*. 4. Gules, three crowns or—*King Arthur*. Sinister side—5. Gules, a cross fleury between five martlets or—*Edward the Confessor*. 6. Gules, a lion sejant in a chair holding a battle-axe argent—*Alexander the Great*. 7. Or, three ravens in pale sable—*Judas Maccabeus*. 8. Or, an eagle displayed sable—*Germany* ; dimidiated with azure semée de Lis or—*Charlemagne*. At the south end—9. Azure, a cross fleur-de-lisée between, on the dexter, two wreaths, and on the sinister, issuant from the fess-point, two rays of an escarboucle or, for *Godfrey de Bouillon*. It would seem that this coat has been terribly mutilated by its restorers. It was perhaps originally the arms of Jerusalem, viz., Az. a cross potent between 4 crosses crosslet or (changed to wreaths) and the arms of Godfrey an escarboucle dimidiated. 10. France and England quarterly.

This last coat is emblazoned at the north end of the chest and shows (says Sandford in his genealogical history of the Kings of England) that these escutcheons were painted since the reign of King Henry the Fourth. Admitting that this may be taken to limit the date to be assigned to the chest, it by no means implies a similar limit to the date of the effigy that reposes thereon. Let us examine the Duke's effigy. The ducal coronet seems of later date, and has been so considered, but on reference to the great seals of the Kings of England, as figured in Sandford's Genealogical History, to which reference has already been made, it will be seen that coronets of similar form to that on the effigy of Duke Robert were then in use. It is true, these are borne by sovereign Princes; but to Robert may well have been given that rank, both as Duke of Normandy and as a claimant of the crown of England. In any case I am disposed to assign to the effigy a date not very remote from the period at which the Duke lived. The hauberk of chain mail and the long surcote ceased to be worn after the 13th century and would hardly have been imitated with similar exactitude at a much later period. The long surcote bore formerly upon it the two Lions passant of Normandy, as shown in the MSS. of Nicolas Charles in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, date 1616, a tracing of which was lent to me by Mr. Niblett. The Surcote is at present coloured red without any diaper or armorial device. The original spurs, which were probably the Norman prick-spurs, have been broken off, and at a later period (that probably of the restoration of the effigy after mutilation), the spurs of the civil war period have been substituted; and of these only one now remains in its place. Mr. Hunt has recently restored this missing spur.

It is generally stated that the Duke was buried before the high altar, but the inscription in the Chapter-house points to that as his place of interment.¹ The inscription still legible, in Norman-French letters, in one of the recesses of the south wall, runs thus: HIC JACET ROBERT CVRTVS, from which it would seem that he owed his name *Curthose*, rather to the shortness of his stature than to that of his breeches or stockings.

¹See extracts from Leland's Itinerary.—ED.

The third and last monument to which I shall make reference is to the truly regal one erected to the memory of the unfortunate monarch, Edward II. The story of the murder of this Prince in Berkeley Castle is known to all readers of English history ; but it is not so generally known that of late years doubts have been thrown upon the accepted facts by the discovery of a letter concealed in the archives of the bishopric at Maguelone, in the department of the Hérault in France. It is undoubted that in 1327 King Edward II. was imprisoned at Berkeley, and was reputed to have been murdered there ; and that in 1331 Thomas de Berkeley was formally tried for the murder, and acquitted ; not because of any doubt that was then entertained of the murder of the king, but because it was held to be proved that Thomas was no party to the crime. At the same time Thomas de Gourney and William de Ocle were convicted of the king's murder and had sentence of death passed upon them in their absence, and a price was set upon their heads. The supposed remains of the king were conveyed some months after his alleged death to Gloucester, and there solemnly interred in the Abbey Church, where a magnificent shrine was erected over his tomb, at which miracles were said to be wrought, and the Abbey was greatly enriched and its noble chancel beautified by the offerings of the pious pilgrims who thronged to it. All this is matter of history, and no doubt has ever been thrown upon the story till the discovery to which I have already adverted of a letter purporting to be written by one Manuele Fieschi, papal notary, at Avignon, to King Edward the 3rd of England, in which he gives a circumstantial account of the escape of Edward II. from Berkeley Castle, which account the writer professes to have derived from the personal relation of Edward II. himself, of which the following is a condensed narrative :—

That when he was in confinement at Berkeley, having notice that Sir Thomas Gournay and Sir Simon Ebersford were coming to slay him, he effected his escape in disguise from the castle at nightfall, that finding the porter asleep he killed him, and having thus possessed himself of the keys of the castle, he escaped into the open country. The letter goes on to say that the lords,

learning too late of his flight, and fearing the wrath of the Queen, and for their own lives, took counsel, and determined to put the corpse of the porter into a coffin and to bury it at Gloucester as if it had been the body of the king ; having first of all cut out the heart and presented it to Isabella as if it had been that of her husband. The story then goes on to relate how the king escaped to Corfe Castle, where he was concealed for many months, and on learning that Edmund Duke of Kent had been executed for asserting that he was still living, he escaped thence to Ireland disguised as a hermit, that he passed through England and embarked at Ipswich for Sluys, in Holland, and after long wanderings made his way to Avignon, where he bribed a pontifical servant to convey a letter into the hands of the Pope, John the 22nd, who lodged him secretly but honourably for a fortnight ; after which he went to Paris, Brabant, and Cologne, and thence to Milan, where he remained two years and a half in a hermitage, from whence on the outbreak of war he removed to another hermitage in the Castle of Cecima, in the diocese of Paira, whence the letter, which is not dated, was written.

The existence of this letter was first made known to the English public by an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March, 1880, by a writer who signs himself "I. Theodore Bent," which was followed by a correspondence in "Notes and Queries" of the same year, in which Mr. J. H. Cooke, of Berkeley, took part. To these writings I must refer those who desire to know the details of this interesting subject : but I am of opinion that Mr. Cooke justly points out the weak places in the story conveyed by the letter of Fieschi. I believe this letter to have been written *bonâ fide*, and that the writer really believed the narrator to be the escaped King Edward II. Such a belief was not difficult to impress upon an individual who had never seen the King, and who may have been predisposed to believe his story. Personal imposture, which is not always easy to discover, was at least as difficult to detect in those days as at the present time. As instances of successful imposture we have the examples of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, the latter one of the most romantic stories of successful impersonation on record, and in

these latter days we have the Tichborne claimant, in whom, in spite of evidence, many persons believe to this day.

Now let us consider the circumstances which surround this alleged escape of the King. It is asserted that he killed the porter at the gate of the castle and so effected his escape. This in itself could have been no such easy matter, as castles in those days were not dependent for security upon sleepy porters, but upon an armed and vigilant guard. We may dismiss the story of his wanderings without much remark, other than as noticed by Mr. Cooke, that it is in the highest degree improbable that he would have sought refuge in Corfe Castle, the governor of which was Maltravers, who was well acquainted with the King's person, and who was the Queen's creature, and therefore the deadly enemy of the King. But what are we to say to the fact that on the day after the murder the body of the defunct King was exposed to the public gaze? It has been suggested that the shaving of his beard and hair and the sufferings and privations he had undergone, had so changed the King's appearance that it was impossible to identify him; but granting that such was the case, the people of Berkeley may surely be trusted to have known the person of the porter, whose murder on the previous night could hardly have failed to reach their ears. Finally, the conduct of the young king, Edward III., to whom Fieschi's letter professes to have been written, shows that he was himself convinced of his father's death, as was demonstrated by his having founded masses for his soul, erected a splendid shrine over his body, and made costly offerings thereat, as we know he did.

At this distance of time it is not difficult to raise doubts about almost any historical event, however well attested; and this letter of Fieschi's bears upon it the marks of authenticity in itself and of conviction on the part of the writer, but in presence of the facts and arguments above adduced, I am of opinion that the doubts raised by the letter may be dismissed as not sustainable. I have now brought before you all the circumstances I could collect from the various sources at my command, of these three ancient and interesting monuments, with which the

Cathedral of Gloucester is associated. In so doing I pretend to nothing original, and am indebted for much information to Mr. Niblett and others who have placed notes and documents at my disposal. To some among you the subjects here treated of may not be new, but to others who have heard of these things for the first time, it is my hope that I may have supplied some facts and suggested others which may not be deemed wholly unworthy of consideration.

The following extracts from Smyth's Lives of the Berkeley's, Vol. I., lately printed by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, will doubtless be of interest:—"In the custody of the Deane and Chapter of Glouc. is a faire manusc'. Chronicle summarily collected by Walter Frocester, a monke in the Abby of Glouc. living at this time within fifteen miles of Berkeley, after Abbot of that monastery, deduced down by him to the twentyeth yeare of kinge Edward the third, who wrifeth thus, viz.:—'Edward the second, sonne of Edward, began his raigne in the yeare 1307, in the 19th whereof hee was dekinged: Taken at Neath Castle in West Wales, but brought to bee kept at Kenellworth, And the third of the nones of Aprill, was translated from Kenellworth to Berkeley Castle, where when many conspired for his delivery, About the feast of St. Mathewe the Evangelist, was most . . . wickedly murdered, and buried in the Church of St. Peter here with us at Glouc.': And in another place thus:—"Et post-mortem predicti regis, &c. And after the death of the said kinge, his venerable body (which the next monasteries of St. Augustine of Bristol, St. Mary of Kingswood, and St. Aldelme of Malmesbury, for dread of Roger de Mortimer and Queene Isable and theire complices feared to receive), was by John Toky then Abbot of this Church of blessed St. Peter of Gloucester with his chariot honorably adorned with the armes of the sd. church brought from the Castle of Berkeley to the Church of the said Monastery of Glouc.; And by the whole Convent solemnly atired was with the procession of the whole City honorably received, and in the North part of the Church there neere to the great Altar, buried. (See Hist. S. Pet. I., 44.) This Abbot Toky, mine author succeeded, then a monke there, and present at his funeral, of which Abbot, then a very old man, and of the benefitts hee received from the sonne for this honor done to his fathers body, the marginal record declarath.' "

"The Accompt of this said lords Receivior (William Aside, Receiver to Lord Berkeley) for the yeare following in the second of Edward the third, sheweth what hee paid for dyeing of the white canvas black for coveringe the chariot wherein the body of the Kinge was carried from Berkeley Castle to Glouc.: what the cords, the horsecollers, the traces, and other necessaries particularly cost, used about the Chariot, and conveyinge of his body thence to Gloucester. . . . for a silver vessel to put the king's hart in, 37s. 08d. In oblations at severall times in the Chapple of the Castle of Berkeley for the kings soule, 21d. In expenses of the Lord Berkeleys family goinge with the kings body from Berkeley to Glouc., 18s. 09d."—ED.

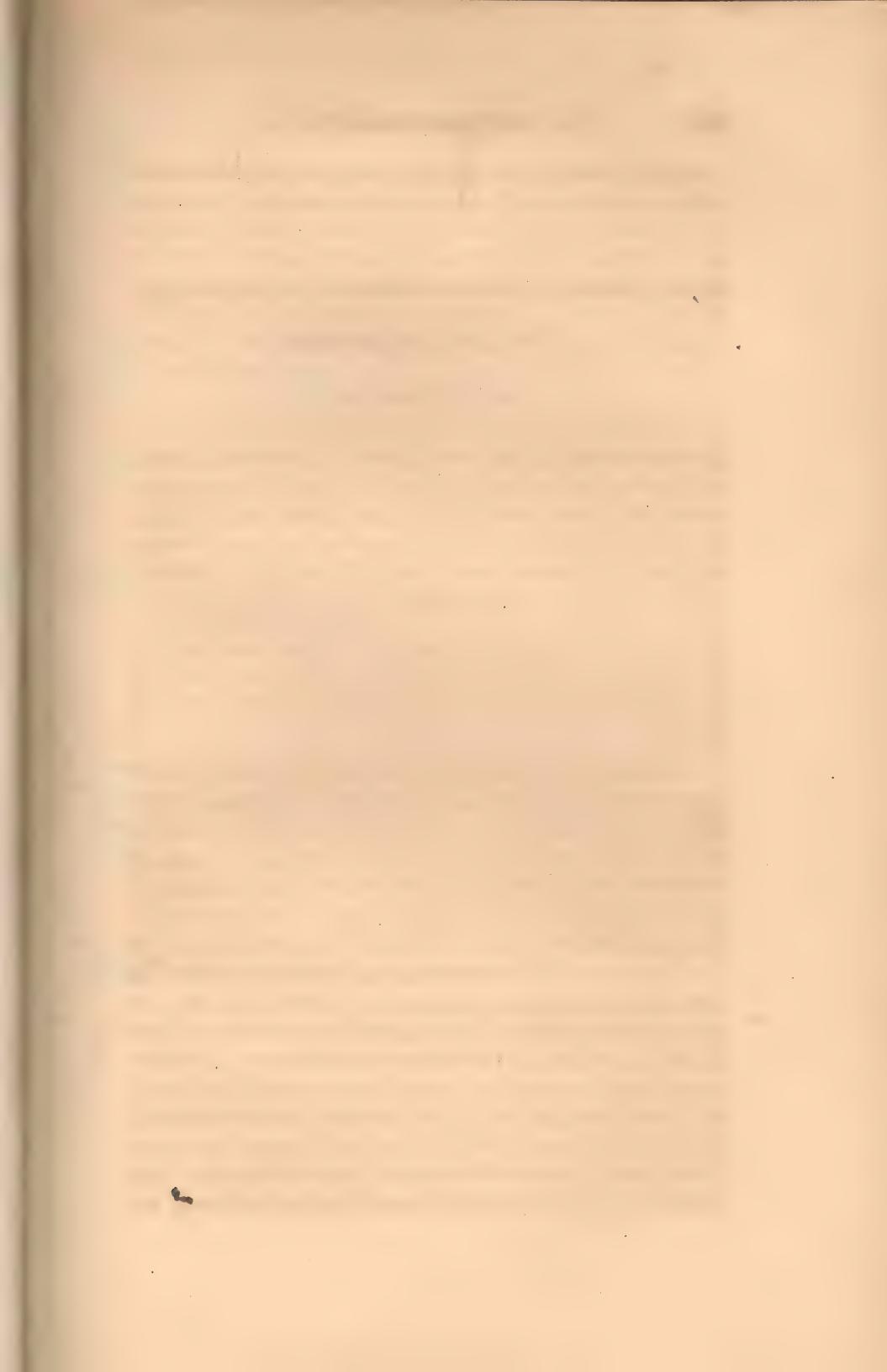
NOTES CHIEFLY ON THE NORMAN ARCHITECTURE
OF THE CATHEDRAL.

By F. S. WALLER.

A QUARTER of an hour has been allotted to me to offer my share towards the work of this evening. The time is too short for anything but a few notes, and as I desire to treat of some subject interesting to all, and not too dry and archæological, I have selected one which can be illustrated by diagrams, and these will be given by the aid of the lime light.

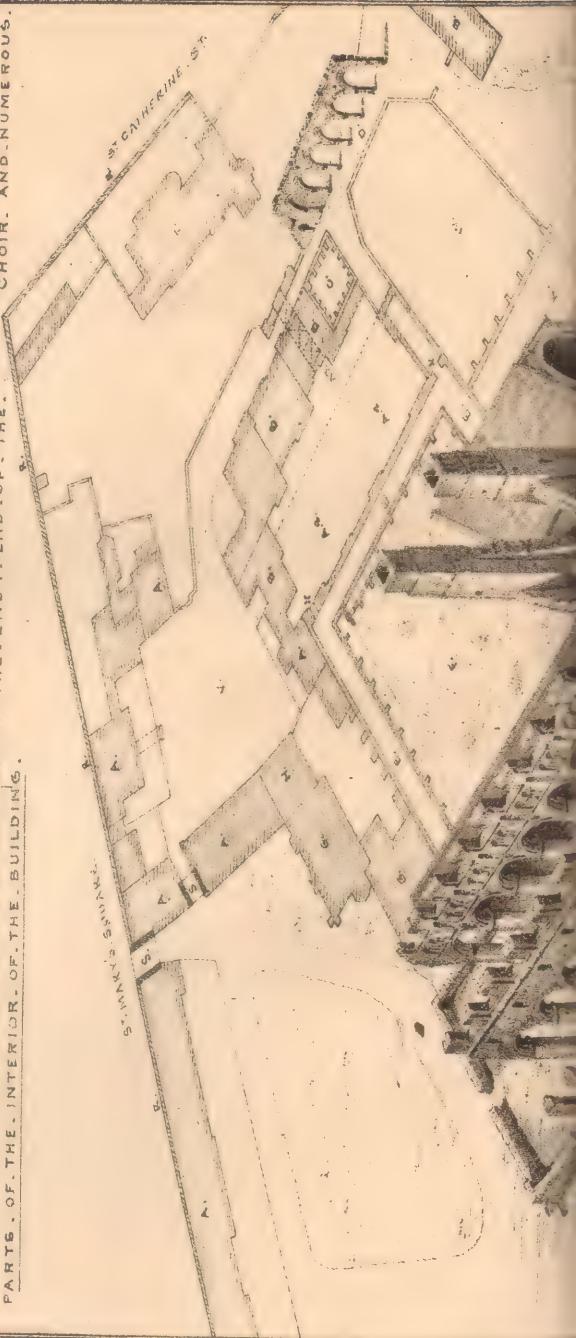
I am about to speak of the early or Norman architecture of this building, and I propose to show you how much of such work lies encased in what we now know as the Cathedral Church of the diocese.

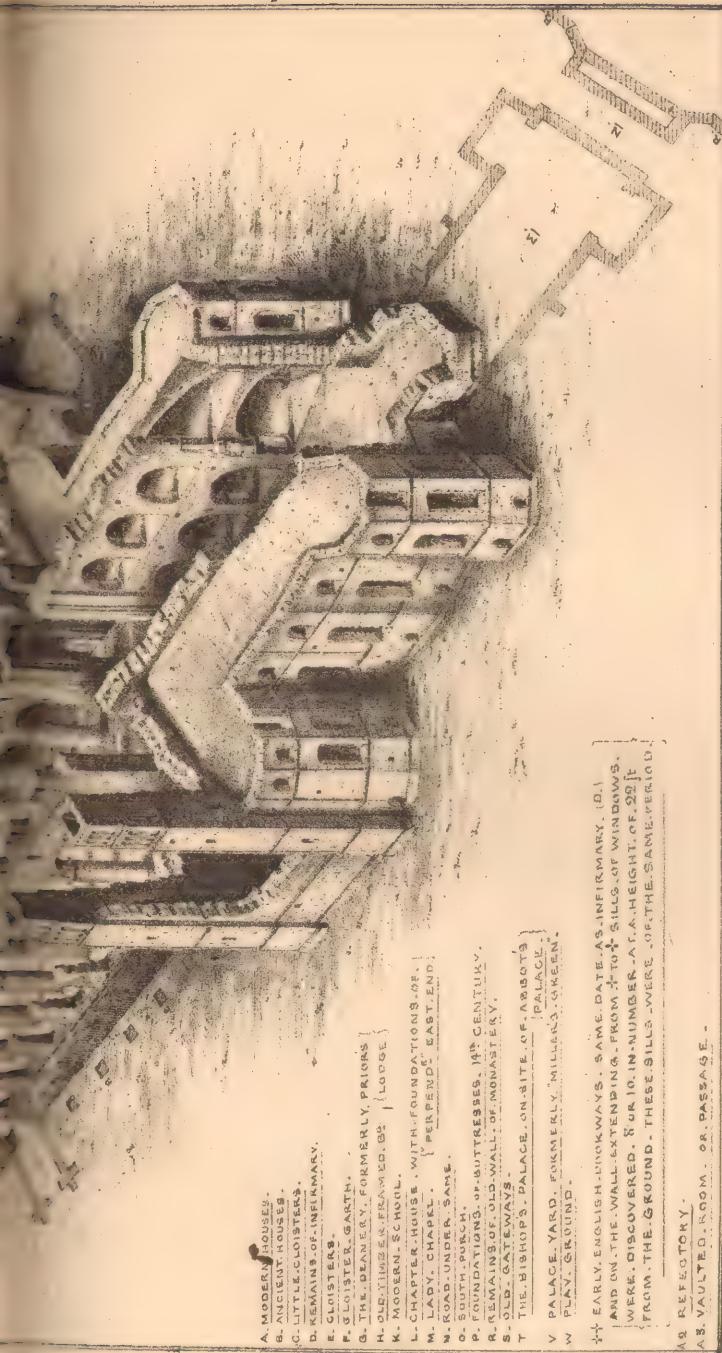
The edifice, as we now see it, is the outcome of nearly 500 years of planning and building, pulling down and burning down, and then again of rebuilding in accordance with the prevailing fashion of the day; but through all the changes and alterations which have been made the old Norman work still shows prominently, and is in point of fact the backbone of the whole fabric. I say the fashion or custom of the day because from the time of the Conquest (1066) to the time of the Reformation we have at least four distinctly marked styles of architecture, viz., the Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, as first named by Rickman, and perhaps even now more generally accepted and understood by his than by any other nomenclature. All of these styles we have in the Cathedral, much of Norman, little remaining of early English, even less of pure Decorated, much of transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, and a large proportion of Perpendicular. Nearly the whole outline of the



No 1.

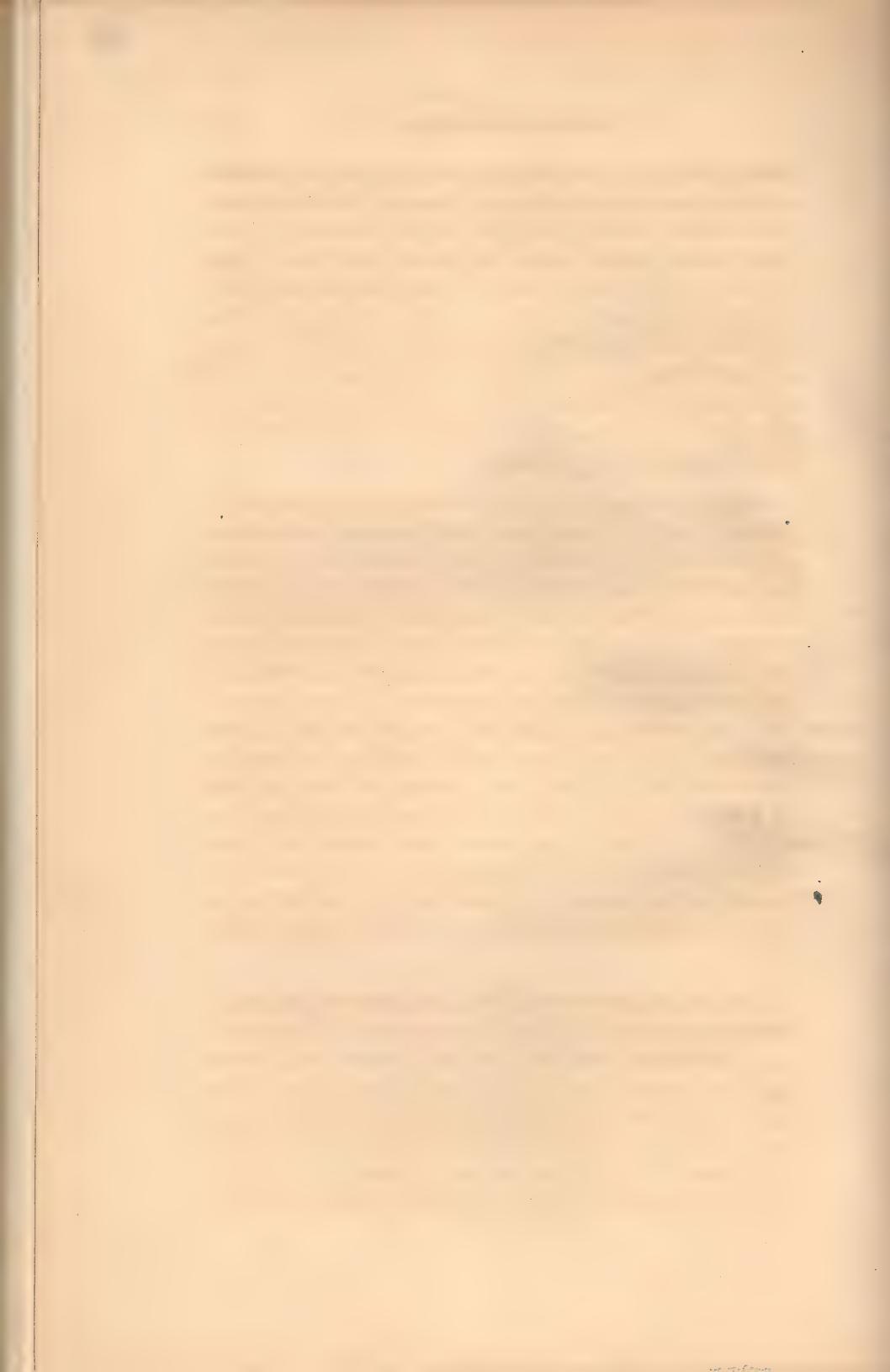
SKETCH. SHEWING. THE. REMAINS. IN-SITU. OF. THE. OLD. NORMAN. CHURCH. AS. IT. EXISTED. IN. THE. 12th. CENTURY. BUT. NOW. ENCASED. MORE. OR. LESS. WITH. ADDITIONS. MADE. IN. THE. 13th. 14th. & 15th. CENTURIES. ALL. OF. WHICH. LATER. ADDITIONS. HAVE. IN. THIS. VIEW. BEEN. REMOVED. NORMAN. REMAINS. HAVE. BEEN. INCORPORATED. IN. MUCH. OF. THE. LATER. ARCHITECTURE. OF. THE. CHURCH. AND. THE. OLD. MOULDINGS. CHEVRON. ORNAMENT. BASES. AND. CAPITALS. HAVE. BEEN. FREELY. INTRODUCED. IN. THE. WORKS. OF. THE. 14th. AND. 15th. CENTURIES. SEE. THE. TRANSEPTS. NORTH. & SOUTH. THE. GALLERIES. AT. THE. EAST. END. OF. THE. CHOIR. AND. NUMEROUS. PARTS. OF. THE. INTERIOR. OF. THE. BUILDING.





FROM A SKETCH BY F. S. WALLER.

"Ink-Photo" Sprague & C°, London, E.C.



building, however, is of Norman work, and it is to this style in particular that I have to confine my attention. Go to what part of the Church you may (the Lady Chapel excepted) you come upon Norman remains, either standing as when first erected, like the grand piers and arches of the Nave, or cased with Perpendicular as in the Choir, or in plain walling, or in more recent work where the old Norman materials have been re-used and re-modelled in various shapes and ways, all so mixed and confused that to the ordinary visitor, who has no time at command to unravel the mystery, it is most difficult to tell where the work of one era ends and another begins.

I cannot attempt to fix a date for the earliest portion of the Cathedral, any opinion given on this point must necessarily be conjectural, I will therefore carefully avoid this question, and endeavour to show you what yet remains of the old Church as it existed, say in A.D. 1150. Any written and un-illustrated description of this would be almost useless, and certainly most difficult to understand, but the rough diagram now before you will, it is hoped, at once explain the subject. It is a bird's-eye view taken under the presumption that all the work erected since the end of the 12th century has been, to suit our present purpose, removed, that is to say, all that was built by Abbot Foliot in the 13th century, by Abbots Thokey and Wygmore in the early part of the 14th century, by Abbots Frocester, Morwent, and Seabroke, and others in the 15th century, and the church so denuded would reveal what we see before us, as that which is left intact of the old Norman edifice. (See Plate 1.)

You will observe that the old Norman roofs are all gone, chiefly burnt; the Norman Tower, probably somewhat like Tewkesbury, gone also, the old piers alone remaining, and on which Abbot Seabroke's splendid Tower now stands; the west end altogether removed, the east end with its apsidal termination destroyed, nearly all the windows altered or removed, and also the cappings of the turrets of the North and South Transepts. In the foreground the foundations of the Lady Chapel erected in the 15th

century are shown, and further back the arches of the infirmary chapel, and the site of the Bishop's Palace and other buildings. These are so delineated in order to enable you to identify the position and present surroundings of the Cathedral. They have no relation whatever to the old Norman work.

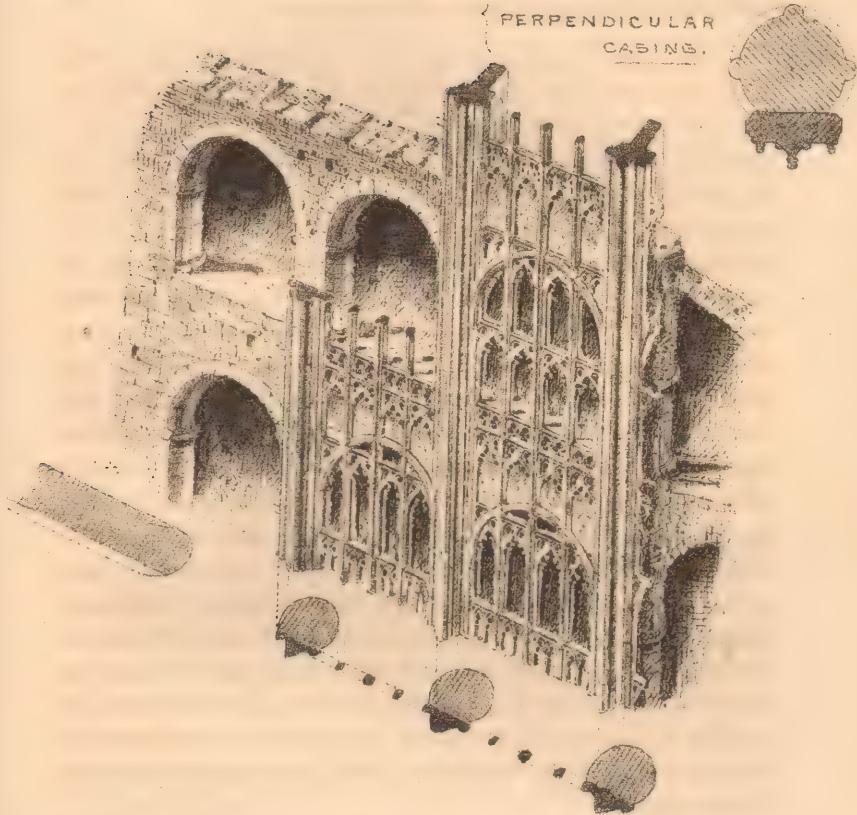
The second sketch now before you (see Plate 2) shows the method by which the Norman work in the Choir was masked by the 14th century builders, and here it may be well to call your attention to one remarkable fact, viz., that though the old foundations have been made available, and the old work has been pared down to receive the new casing, and though the new work is attached to and carried far above the Norman walls, and is surmounted by massive stone groining, and a heavy oak roof covered with lead, no sign of a settlement of any sort or kind shows itself throughout the entire length and breadth of the Choir; the whole is as complete and perfect as when first erected, and it is a masterpiece of difficult and hazardous construction. Another instance of like boldness may be noted as regards the great Tower itself—this as before stated is built on the old Norman Piers. Now the Norman walls are as a rule but loosely put together, having little bond, and for the most part only a well built external and internal casing of masonry. Abbot Seabroke seems however to have had no hesitation in placing his 15th century tower on the old Norman foundations, and fortunately with a result similar to that of Adam de Staunton's work in the Choir, for excepting an unimportant settlement at the south west corner the whole Tower stands as good as when first erected.

The third sketch (see Plate 3) is submitted to you in order that you may see the size of the Cathedral Tower relatively with that of the other ancient Towers and spires of Gloucester.

These are all drawn to the same scale, are all on the same plane, and they start from the same datum line.

N^o 2.

NORMAN PIER WITH
PERPENDICULAR
CASING.



SKETCH, SHEWING, THE, METHOD, BY, WHICH, THE,
OLD, NORMAN, STRUCTURE, WAS, MASKED, BY, THE,
BUILDERS, OF, THE, 14th, CENTURY.

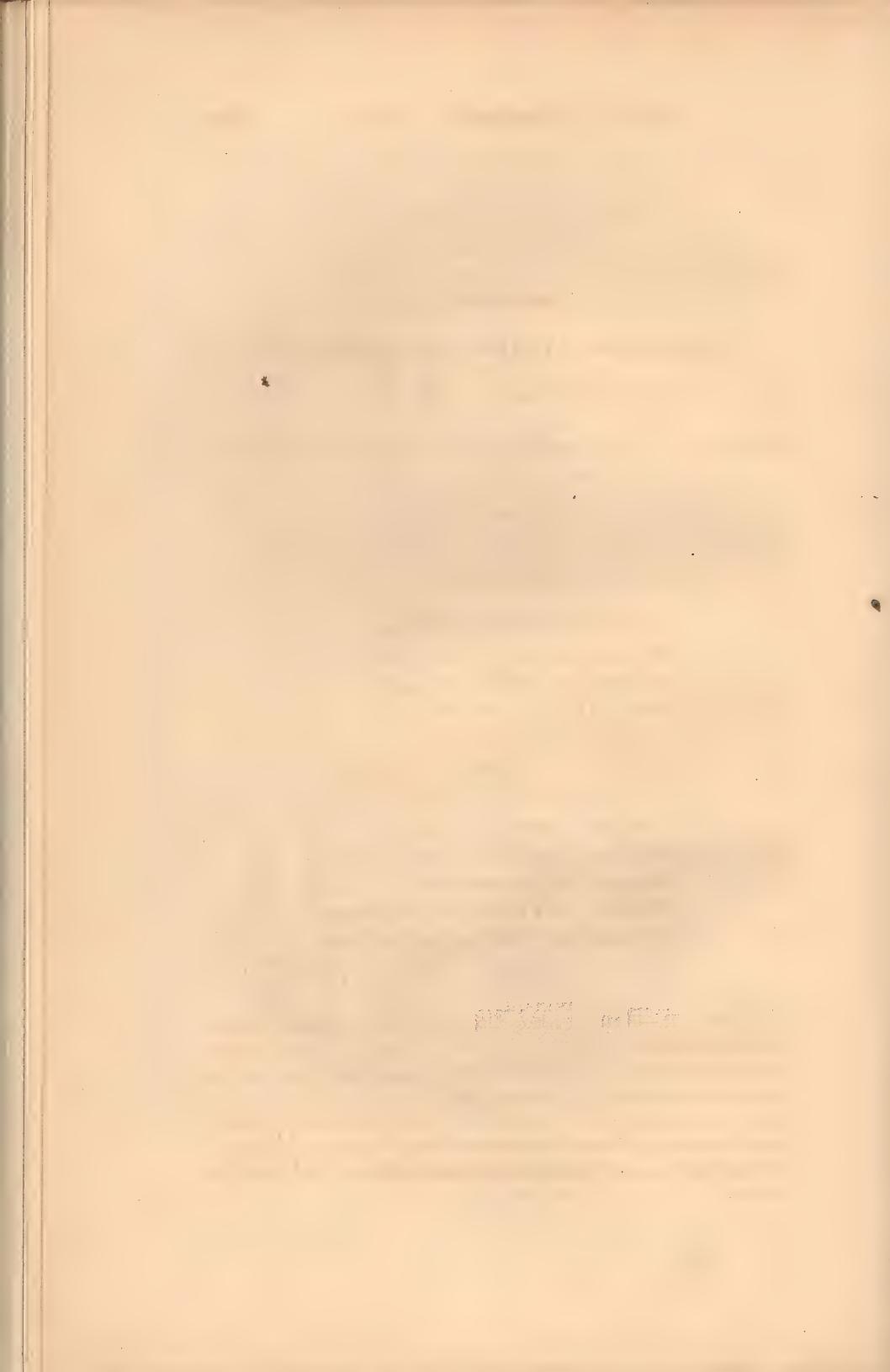
FROM A SKETCH BY F S WALLER.



Printed for S. O. Sprenger & C. London, E.

The Ancient Towers and Spires of Gloucester (From a Drawing by F. S. Waller).

THE CATHEDRAL, AND THE CHURCHES OF ST. MICHAEL, ST. NICHOLAS,
ST. MARY-DE-CRYPT, ST. MARY-DE-LODE, AND ST. JOHN; ALSO, PARTS OF THE DEANERY, THE CHAPTER
HOUSE, GATEWAY IN ST. MARY'S SQUARE, REMAINS OF THE INFIRMARY, AND THE RUINS
OF THE CHURCH OF ST. CATHARINE. (All drawn to the same scale and from
the same datum line.)



ANTHEMS
PERFORMED AT THE CONVERSAZIONE,
APRIL 5TH, 1883.

(WITH NOTES BY CHARLES L. WILLIAMS, ORGANIST OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.)

Henry VIII.

O Lord, the Maker of all thing,
We pray thee now in this evening
Us to defend through thy mercy,
From all deceit of our enemy :
Let neither us deluded be,
Good Lord, with dream or fantasy ;
Our heart waking in thee thou keep,
That we in sin fall not on sleep.
O Father, through thy blessed Son,
Grant us this our petition ;
To whom with the Holy Ghost always
In heaven and earth be laud and praise.

Amen.

HENRY VIII.—Erasmus relates that Henry VIII composed several offices for the Church, including an anthem “O Lord the Maker,” which every judge of music must allow to be excellent. It must not be forgotten that Henry VIII. was educated by his Father in early life with a view to his becoming the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that therefore music was a necessary part of his education. Some writers throw doubt on the authenticity of this anthem ; but there is historical evidence in its favour.

Tye.

Sing to the Lord in joyful strains,
 Let earth His praise resound,
 Ye who amidst the ocean dwell,
 And fill the isles around.

Thou city of the Lord,
 Begin the universal song,
 Let all combined with one accord
 The cheerful notes prolong.

DR. TYE was music master to the children of Henry VIII. He set the "Acts of the Apostles" to music, but this proved a failure, and he set himself to compose music to words selected from the Psalms in four, five, and six parts; to which compositions the name of Anthem, a corruption of Antiphon, was given.

Gibbons.

Almighty and everlasting God, mercifully look upon our infirmities, and in all our dangers and necessities, stretch forth Thy right hand to help and defend us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ORLANDO GIBBONS was considered most justly to be the greatest church composer of his day. He was appointed Organist of the Chapel Royal, 1622, and his compositions for the Church are perfect specimens of counter-point, combined with simplicity and science: they should always be sung unaccompanied, as intended.

Rogers.

Te Deum Patrem colimus,
 Te laudibus prosequimur:
 Qui corpus cibo reficias,
 Cœlesti mentem gratiâ.

Te adoramus, O Jesu !
 Te, Fili unigenite,
 Te, qui non dedignatus es
 Subire claustra Virginis.

Actus in Crucem, factus es
 Irato Deo Victima :
 Per Te, Salvator Unice,
 Vitæ spes nobis rediit.

Tibi, Æterne Spiritus,
 Cujus afflatus peperit
 Infantem Deum Maria,
 Æternum benedicimus.

Triune Deus, hominum
 Salutis Auctor optime,
 Immensum hoc mysterium
 Ovante lingua canimus.

BENJAMIN ROGERS was Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and afterwards of Magdalen College, Oxford ; his Services and Anthems are much esteemed as excellent models of part writing. The above Hymn is sung annually at 5 a.m., on 1st May, by the Choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, upon the top of the tower in lieu of a Requiem which, before the Reformation, was performed in the same place for the soul of Henry VII. The Rectory of Slimbridge near Gloucester is charged with the annual payment of £10 for the performance of this service.

Croft.

God is gone up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet.

WILLIAM CROFT, Organist of Westminster Abbey, 1708, was the composer of many Anthems and Services ; his two anthems, " God is gone up " and " We will rejoice," are considered his best compositions, and are quite worthy of a pupil of Henry Purcell.

Purcell.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts ; shut not Thy merciful ears unto our prayer : but spare us Lord, most holy, O God, most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, Thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death to fall from Thee. Amen.

HENRY PURCELL was Organist of Westminster Abbey in 1676. His Church Music is an admirable example of the blending of the ancient and severe counterpoint with more modern melody and harmony. His Te Deum and Jubilate in B flat are well known to all Cathedral Choirs. Purcell died in 1695, and is buried in the Abbey; on his tombstone is the following inscription :

HERE LYES
HENRY PURCELL, ESQUIRE,
WHO LEFT THIS LIFE,
AND IS GONE TO THE BLESSED PLACE
WHERE ONLY HIS HARMONY
CAN BE EXCEEDED.

Goss.

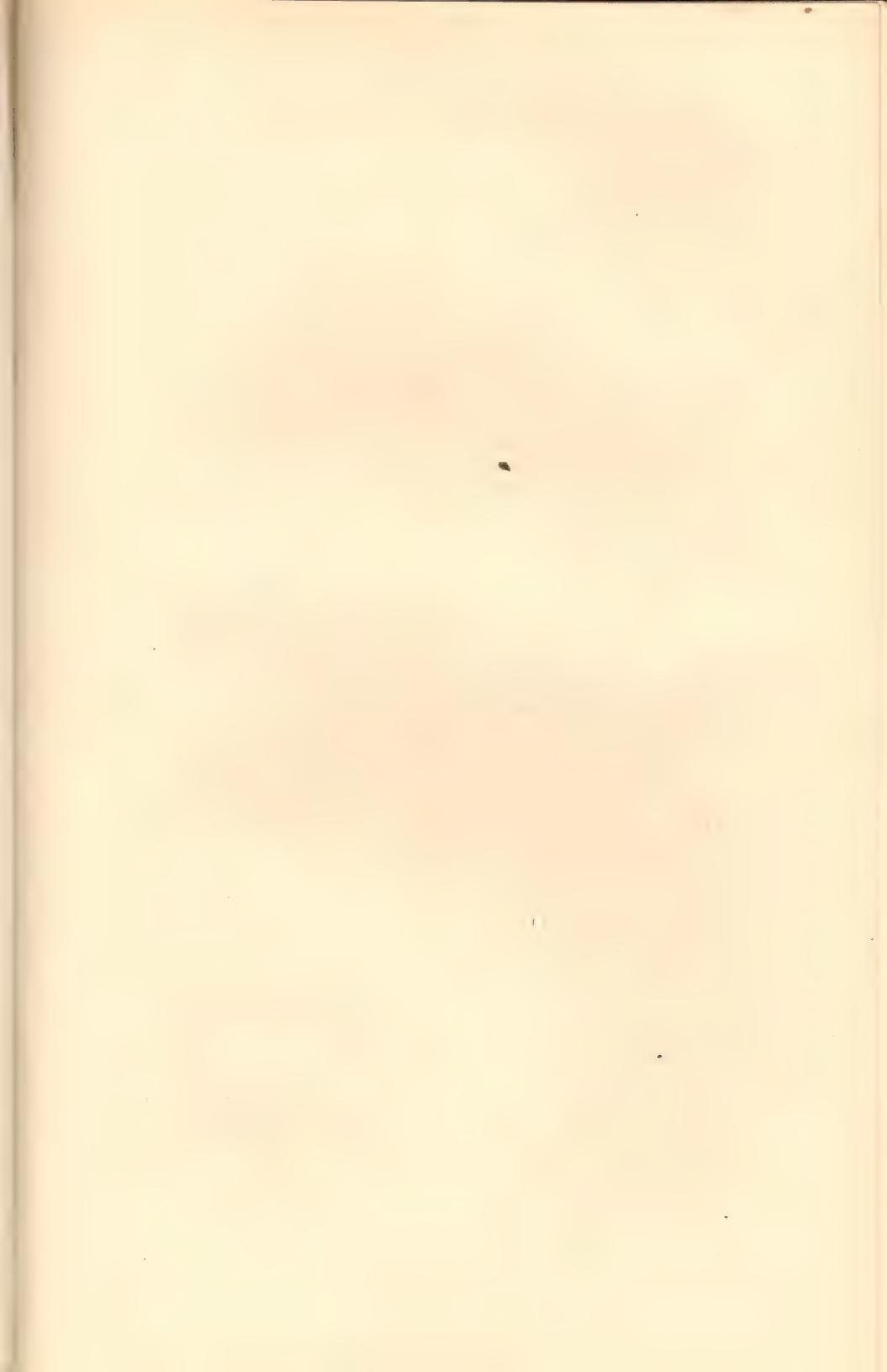
O Saviour of the world, who by thy Cross and precious Blood hast redeemed us, Save us, and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.

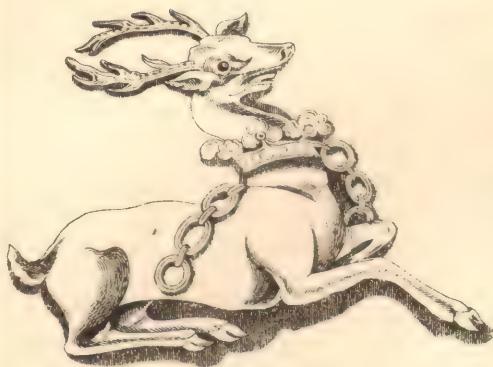
JOHN GOSS, Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, was the composer of many excellent works for the Church. The above short anthem of his will testify to his great talents and sympathetic feeling.

Wesley.

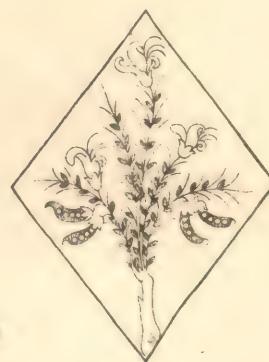
O Lord my God, hear thou the prayer thy servant prayeth. Have thou respect unto his prayer. Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling place, and when thou hearest, Lord, forgive.

S. S. WESLEY may safely be said to stand on a pedestal far above all rivals, his style of Church Music being absolutely unique and absolutely unapproachable. It is the fashion to say he was an unequal genius, but it would be more true to say he was of unequal temperament, for his work and his genius seem perfect. The examples given to-night will throw some light on the development of Cathedral Music as known in the past and at present.





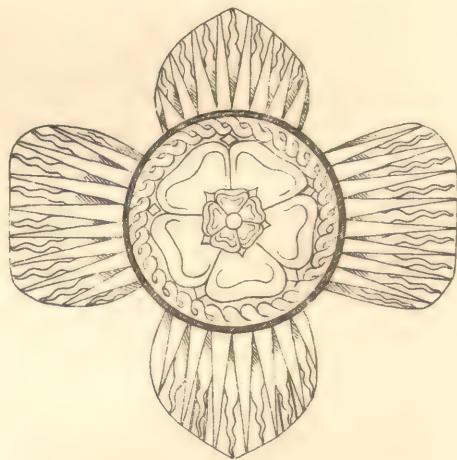
(Fig. 1.)



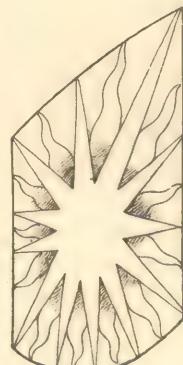
(Fig. 2.)



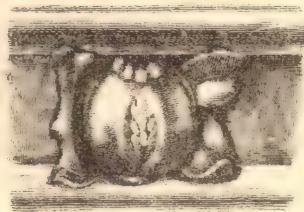
(Fig. 3.)



(Fig. 4.)



(Fig. 5.)



(Fig. 6.)

ROYAL BADGES IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

By J. D. T. NIBLETT, M. A., F. S. A.,

AND

THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M. A.

THE Badge, which is a very early form of heraldic bearing, may be distinguished from a coat of arms or a crest by its being worn without a shield or coronet, though it is sometimes accompanied by a motto. A badge was an emblematic or heraldic figure worn in the first place by some one person, as significant of his character or race. Then it came to be worn by the friends and by the followers of the original owner as a decoration, or as livery.

“Might I but know thee by thy household badge.”
Shakespeare's Henry VI., Part 2.

Among the mediæval tiles scattered in confusion on the floors, and the fragments of early painted glass remaining in the windows, of the Choir and Lady Chapel, there are probably many such memorials of sovereigns, knights, and churchmen of past ages. The following examples of royal badges are given as a first instalment.

We will commence with the *White Hart* and *Planta-genista* or Broom-plant,¹ both of which were badges of Richard II. He also wore the *Rising Sun*; but we do not know of any example of this badge in the Cathedral. If it is there, it will be found in the work of Abbot Frocester. It must not be confounded with the *Sun in Splendour*, or the *Rose en soleil*, badges of Edward IV. The three badges of Richard II. may be seen on the robe of his monumental effigy in Westminster Abbey.²

In the Choir, on the capitals of the two Norman pillars, between which the elegant tomb of Edward II. has been constructed, are twelve *White Harts chained, and gorged with a ducal coronet*. They were painted on thin metal by the Heraldic

¹See Plate IV., Figs. 1 and 2.

²Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*.

College, and affixed to the pillars in 1737, replacing the more ancient ones mentioned by Atkins.¹ Richard II. is said to have worn this badge as being that of his mother, Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent. As a proof of this statement *The White Hart* appears on the seal of the Hollands, the sons of Joan by the Earl of Kent, her first husband.² Richard II., on the occasion of a magnificent tournament, held at Smithfield, on the 12th of October, 1390, distributed his cognisance of the *White Hart with a crown and golden chain*.³ There are examples of this badge on the front of Westminster Hall, and in a window of S. Olave's Church, Old Jewry.⁴ The fact that Richard II.'s badge is placed on either side of his grandfather's tomb is a proof that it was completed during his reign. Richard II. held a parliament at Gloucester in 1378. The White Hart Inn, in Gloucester, and an inn of the same name at Holborn, belonging to St. Peter's Abbey, were probably built during that King's reign.

No less than seven examples of the second badge of Richard II., the sprig of broom-plant, were seen by J. T. D. Niblett on the old painted glass in the Lavatory, in the North Cloister, previous to the insertion of the windows in memory of Mary Anne Bonnor.⁵ The example given is a facsimile of a tracing by J. D. T. N. many years ago.⁶ The *Planta-genista* was formerly supposed to have been a badge peculiar to the Plantagenet kings.

¹ Atkins, in his *History of Gloucestershire*, printed in 1712, page 95, says:—"Round the great pillars, next to this (Edward II.'s) tomb, are painted many figures of stags; which uphold the report that at his funeral he was drawn by stags from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester."

²Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 20.

³Gentleman's Magazine, pp. 159—160, quoted by Scarf in his *Description of the Wilton House Diptych*, Arundel Society, 1882.

⁴Lansdowne MS., No. 874, quoted by Willement, pp. 20, 21.

⁵We learn from Mr. F. S. Waller that the old glass, taken out of the Cloister and other windows, was placed in some of the windows of the Crypt; and that it was removed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott and sent to various manufacturers of painted glass to be inserted in the new windows. We fear much of it never came back to the Cathedral.

⁶See Plate IV., Fig. 2.

It certainly appears on the two seals of Richard I., and it was worn by Richard II. and succeeding monarchs. But Anstis, in his *Register of the Order of the Garter*,¹ has tried to prove that Richard II. assumed it as appropriate to the Crown of France. A collar of Broom-cods was given to Richard II. in 1393 by Charles VI., and was worn by him as a compliment to the French monarch. This is the earliest mention of a collar as a decorative badge. The goldsmith who made Richard II.'s collar was ordered by Charles VI. to hang 50 letters to the stalks of the broom-cod forming the word *Jamais* many times repeated. The letters were to be enamelled alternately green and white, and to be thickly set with pearls. In the procession of Henry IV. through London on the day of his coronation, Froissart says he was bareheaded, and had round his neck "the collar, a device of the King of France."² If Richard II. adopted the badge of the broom-plant in 1393 in reference to France, and not to his own descent as a Plantagenet, we have in that year the earliest possible date for the completion of the Cloisters by Abbot Frocester.³

The collar of broom-cods probably suggested to Henry of Lancaster the idea of giving a similar cognisance to his friends and adherents. We have the earliest mention of the SS collar in an inventory of the jewels belonging to Edward III., Richard II., and Queen Anne, where we read—"Item, viii. letters of S for a collar, each of xv. pearls; item, a pair of gilt silver basins, one standing on a foot with letters of S of the livery of Mons. de Lancaster, and the covers with a coronet above graven with letters of S around, and the arms of Mons. de Lancaster."⁴ Various explanations have been given of this letter S, of which SS is evidently only a plural. The most plausible are *Souveragne*, *Seneschallus*, and *Souveigne*. Willement suggests *Souveragne*, J. C. Nicholls *Seneschallus*, and Anstis *Souveigne*. The following quotation from

¹Vol. II., p. 115.

²See Gent.'s Mag., 1842, p. 255.

³We have found the badge of the pea-cod on the east window of the south aisle of Thornbury Church.

⁴Inventory, Exchequer Office, *List of Jewels delivered up to Henry IV., October 6th, 1399*.

the Parliamentary Rolls appears to dispose of the first two explanations, whilst it favours the third :—“ Richard II. said that after the coming of his uncle into England he took the collar off his uncle’s neck and put it on his own, vowing to wear it and use it in sign of good love of his whole heart between them also, as he did of his other uncles.”¹ As it has been pointed out by Mr. Beltz,² Richard II. would certainly not have done this if the motto were *Souveragne*, which would constitute a claim on the part of Henry of Lancaster to the Crown, or if it were *Seneschallus*, and thus implied an officer of the Duke’s household. Whereas if S were the initial letter of *Souveigne vous demoy*; and the forget-me-not (*Myosotis arvensis*) has been found engraved on an SS collar of Henry of Lancaster, this assumption of his uncle’s collar by the young king would be nothing but a sign of affection and friendship. There are two instances of the SS collar in Gloucester Cathedral—on the effigies of a knight and lady lying side by side within a tomb of perpendicular architecture on the south side of the south aisle of the nave.³ These effigies have been removed from another part of the Cathedral, or from Llanthony Priory. The county historians assign them to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and his Countess; but the presence of the SS collar is a proof that they are certainly not older than 1399, whereas Humphry de Bohun died in 1361. The late Samuel Lysons, of Hempstead, believed that he detected the remains of a leopard’s head, the badge of Brydges, of Cubberley, in the middle of the cross on the knight’s belt, and he thereupon attributed this effigy to Sir John Brydges, who fought at Agincourt, and died 1437. But the armour is certainly not later than 1410. The knight wears a camail, or tippet of mail, no example of which has, I believe, been found of later date than that year. If the effigy is that of a Brydges, and the fact has yet to be proved, it is probably commemorative of Thomas Brydges, who married Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Berkeley, of Cubberley. Thomas

¹Rot. Parl. III., 313.

²Quoted by Edward Foss, F.S.A., in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. I, p. 73.

³See Plate IV., Fig. 3.

Brydges died in 1407, and his widow, who married John Browning, died in 1414. The collar of SS was worn by knights and ladies, and in a few instances by esquires, during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. On the accession of Edward IV. it was superseded by the collar of Suns and Roses ; but it was revived in the reign of Henry VII.

In what remains of the original windows, in the Lady Chapel erected by Abbots Hanley and Farley, 1459-1499, there are numerous examples of the *Sun in Splendour*¹ and the *Rose en soleil*,² personal badges of Edward IV. At the battle of Mortimer's Cross, February 2nd, 1461, three suns appeared in the sky, which, as the day advanced, joined into one. In commemoration of this, and of his signal victory over the Lancastrians, Edward IV. adopted the *Sun in Splendour* as his badge.³ The example given is copied from the painted glass in the Chantry Chapel on the north side of the Lady Chapel. The *Rose en soleil* is a combination of the above badge, and the white or Yorkist rose. The White Rose is supposed to have been borne in the first instance by Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III., and ancestor of Edward IV. On Edward IV.'s great seal and on the Yorkist collar the rose and sun are represented separately, but in the badge of the *Rose en soleil* they are conjoined. The example given is copied from the painted glass in the Chantry Chapel on the south side of the Lady Chapel. Edward IV. died in 1483 ; so it is nearly certain that the Lady Chapel was completed before that date. The *falcon and fetterlock* was another well-known badge of Edward IV., and was used by his daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Henry VII. No example is known in the Cathedral, but there is one at Prinknash,⁴ a second in one of the north windows of Iron Acton Church, and a third amongst the misereres in Hereford Cathedral, on the north side of the choir.

¹Plate IV., Fig. 4.

²Plate IV., Fig. 5.

³See Shakespeare's *Henry VI.*, Part III., Act II., Scene 1 ; and *Act V.*, Scene 3 ; and *Richard III.*, Act I., Scene 1.

⁴See Plate V., Fig. I.

On the cornice of the tomb of William Parker or Malverne, the last abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1513-1539, there are three examples of the Pomegranate the badge of Grenada, which was worn by Katharine of Arragon, the first and most ill-used wife of Henry VIII. The example given is especially interesting, as forming with its stalk and leaves the initial letter of Katharine.¹ There is another example at Prinknash, where it is depicted as bursting with the seeds.² At Brandreth in Suffolk the following motto is given with this badge:—"Quod Deus coniunxit nemo separabit." The cause of Queen Katharine was plainly understood to be the cause of the Church, and especially of the monasteries; and her divorce was very quickly followed by the plunder of the clergy and the downfall of monasticism. Abbot Parker took part in the proceedings relating to the divorce, and signed a petition to the Pope in favour of it in 1530.³ This would lead one to believe that he erected his tomb before that date. On the occasion of a visit of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society to Brockworth Court in 1882 we found over the great chimney-piece of what was formerly the dining-hall a pomegranate, and beneath it the letters R.H.P., which probably stand for Richard Hart, the last Prior of Llanthony. He was elected in 1534, and remained in office until 1539 when the Priory was dissolved. As the sentence of divorce was pronounced May 21st, 1533, and Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen in the following June, we may gather from this silent testimony that Churchmen were willing to run some risk to show their sympathy with the unhappy Katharine.⁴

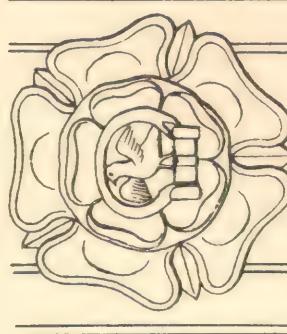
¹Plate IV., Fig. 6.

²Plate VI., Fig. 3.

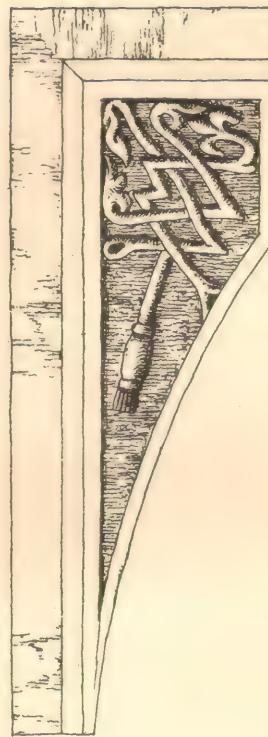
³Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. Reprint 1872, p. 448.

⁴After the above notes were written, I found two tiles, one just within the Lady Chapel on the left, and another at the entrance to S. Philip's Chapel, bearing the device of *a castle triple-towered*. This is the badge of Edwd. II., which he wore as being part of the arms of his mother, Queen Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III., king of *Castile and Leon*. These tiles were probably laid down in the old Norman Choir, soon after his burial in 1327, and were removed when the perpendicular work was erected.—W.B.

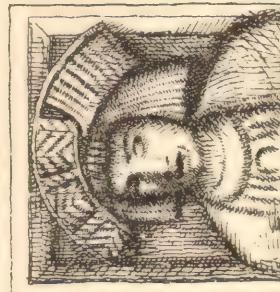




(Fig. 1.)



(Fig. 3.)



(Fig. 2.)

THE REGISTER OF ABBOT PARKER,
ALIAS MALVERNE.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

SOME special interest has been awakened in this Register of late by the rescue from oblivion of the second volume.¹

Let me in the threshold of my subject allay the fears that the word "Register" may have aroused. The earliest parish registers of baptisms, deaths, and marriages date from the period of the Reformation, but they have nothing in common with the monastic records. "The Register of the principal acts and concessions of William Malverne, by Divine providence Abbot of Gloucester," as appears on the first page of the MS., is really a record of the official transactions of the Abbot and his Chapter. I shall endeavour, during the brief time at my disposal, to throw some light on the history of the last Abbot of St. Peter's, and to give you an insight into the work that bears his name.

It is often most difficult to retrace the family history of an ecclesiastic in mediæval times. Through the Church, and through no other profession, a man might rise from the lowest to the highest order in the State. There is an example in this Register of the manumission of a serf,² already in holy orders. There was no law of caste to prevent this priest, Thomas Saunders, a naif of the Abbot's manor of Maisemore, from becoming Lord Chancellor and Cardinal Archbishop, like Thomas Wolsey, the son of the Norwich butcher.

¹Abbot Parker's Register, vol. I., contains the spiritual and temporal acts of that Abbot from his election in 1514 to 1528. Volume II. continues his official acts to December, 1538. There is an index to the first volume, but not to the second. The entries have been numbered by Prynne, the antiquary.

²Vol. II., No. 155. For an example of a deed of manumission see *Essays on the Abbey of Gloucester*, by the Rev. J. Webb, p. 17, in Britton's History of Gloucester Cathedral.

Most of the Abbots of Gloucester had an *alias* or second name. William Parker appears in all official documents as "William Malverne." His ancestors may have been parkers of the great Earls of Gloucester on Malverne Chase; or William Parker, alone of his family, may have borne the *alias* on account of some connection in his early life with the Priory of Great Malverne. Parker's predecessor, John Malverne, who was elected Abbot and died in 1499, and William Malverne, whose name appears on the paving tiles in front of the high altar as one of the principal monks in the time of Abbot Seabroke, may or may not have been his kinsmen. There is one incidental mention of Abbot Parker's parents in his Register. In 1519 a pension of 40s. was granted to John Cusse, vicar of South Cerney, with the condition that he should pray for the soul and body of William, Abbot of Gloucester, and for the souls of John and Isabell Parker, the parents of the said William.¹ The two brothers and the nephews of the Abbot are frequently mentioned as grantees of Abbey lands and as officers of the Abbey.² On the monument of John Parker, Esq., of Hasfield, who died in 1809, and was buried in the nave of this Cathedral, it was claimed for him that he was the last male representative of Abbot Parker's family.³

In 1510, at the time of the election of the last Abbot but one, John Newton, William Malverne's name appears as 34th in a list of the 65 monks of St. Peter's.⁴ In 1514, at the time of his own election, he was "Master of the Works," or chief architect. There are several interesting examples of what is known to be his work, though probably at a later period. Amongst these are his own Chapel and tomb, Osric's tomb, and the mansion at Prinknash.⁵

¹ Vol I., No. 155.

² Vol. I., Nos. 43, 103, 122, 128, 157, 158, 168, 169, 184, 293, 294, 305, 342. Vol. II., Nos. 140, 237, 287, 331, 354.

³ Fosbroke's Hist. of Glou.: Fol. Ed.: p. 141.

⁴ Register of Abbot Newton, No. 185.

⁵ See *History of Prinknash Park*, Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester-shire Archaeological Society, Vol. VII., 267, and Plates V. and VI.

The entries in the Register relating to Abbot Parker's election, including the letter of the Prior to Henry the Eighth, the King's *congé d'élire*, and the restitution of the temporalities after the payment of a heavy fine, occupy sixty-four pages of the first volume, and are most interesting to the student of Church history, as giving the fullest details of such proceedings. The confusion and bitterness at the election of John Newton were so great as to call for a letter of stern rebuke from the King's Privy Council,¹ but the election of William Parker, on May 4th, 1514, was with one exception unanimous.

On the 23rd of Nov. in the same year the King issued his writ summoning the Abbot to meet him in Parliament.² As St. Peter's was a mitred abbey the Abbot was entitled to a seat in the House of Peers. It is a proof of the importance of Gloucestershire in the middle ages that amongst the twenty-seven mitred abbeys of England, mentioned by Lord Herbert, Winchcomb, Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Gloucester enjoyed this privilege, as well as Evesham and Malmesbury on the borders of the county. On this occasion Abbot Parker obtained leave of absence from Parliament, and appointed proxies to vote for him;³ but he took part in later years in the debates in Parliament and Convocation on the King's divorce, the repudiation of the Pope's supremacy, the surrender of the clergy, and the dissolution of the monasteries.⁴ William Parker was one of the nineteen abbots summoned to Parliament in April, 1539, and we learn from the Journal of the Lords that he was present. On the 13th of May following Chancellor Audley brought in a Bill for the dissolution of the remaining monasteries. This Bill was rapidly passed, and the abbots sat in Parliament for the last time on Saturday, June 28th.

The Register comes to an abrupt termination on December 12th, 1538; but St. Peter's was not surrendered to the King's Commissioners till January 4th, 1540. This painful task was

¹ Register of Abbot Newton, No. 186.

² Abbot Parker's Register, Vol. I., No. 17.

³ Vol. I., Nos. 19 and 23.

⁴ Wilkins III., 756, &c.

performed by the Prior, Gabriel Morton, and thirteen of the monks¹ In the words of Mr. W. H. Hart, the editor of the Gloucester Chartularies for the Master of the Rolls :—

St. Peter's Abbey, "having existed for more than eight centuries under different forms, in poverty and in wealth, in meanness and in magnificence, in misfortune and in success, finally succumbed to the royal will ; the day came, and that a drear winter day, when its last mass was sung, its last censer waved, its last congregation bent in rapt and lowly adoration before the altar there, and doubtless, as the last tones of that day's evensong died away in the vaulted roof, there were not wanting those who lingered in the solemn stillness of the old massive pile, and who, as the lights disappeared one by one, felt that there was a void which could never be filled, because their old abbey, with its beautiful services, its frequent means of grace, its hospitality to strangers, and its loving care for God's poor, had passed away like a morning dream and was gone for ever!"²

The Abbot was not there to see the end. The few historians who refer to this subject, as Willis in his "Mitred Abbeys," speak of him as contumacious, and thereby losing his pension and the chance of a bishopric. But a manuscript note, found in a book belonging to his great-great-nephew, asserts that the King promised him the bishopric of Gloucester, but that he died before the appointment could be made. There is a time-worn, weather-beaten effigy of a priest in Notgrove Churchyard, which is said by tradition to have covered the Abbot's real grave. There are two broken croziers built into the wall of the choir of Northleach church, where many of the Abbot's kinsmen and kinswomen lie buried. Have these any connection with his latter years, spent in retirement and disgrace, and are they symbolical of his misfortunes ? Or does his body rest, where he always hoped it would, beneath his stately monument in the Chapel that

¹Wright's *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 237 ; Browne Willis's *Mitred Abbeys*, &c.

²History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, published by the Master of the Rolls, Vol. III., xlvi.

he prepared in his own Abbey Church?¹ The tomb of Edward the Second was opened and the body of the king examined in 1855; but, as far as I know, Abbot Parker's tomb or cenotaph has escaped desecration.

I have already referred to an entry in the Register of a Parliamentary writ. There are other entries of the same kind, and whenever we find them followed by a long interval, in which no acts or concessions are recorded, we may gather that Abbot Parker was in his place amongst his peers.² The entries of general interest to which I shall next refer are those which record the visitation of the monastery by the Archbishops of Canterbury, Warham and Cranmer, the Cardinal Archbishop of York, Thomas Wolsey, the Bishops of Worcester, in whose diocese Gloucester then lay, and the Abbots of Westminster and Tewkesbury, as accredited Visitors of the Benedictine order.³ The visitations which were fraught with the gravest consequences to the Abbot and his monks were those of Thomas Wolsey in 1522 and Thomas Cranmer in 1534. The mandates of visitation, as well as their acknowledgment by the Abbot, are, with one exception, entered in the Register.

That one exception is the mandate of Wolsey. Parker showed his sense of its insolence by omitting it from the Register. In June, 1518, the Cardinal obtained a bull from Rome giving him authority to visit all monasteries, and this bull, which was probably recited in the mandate, was full of severe reflections on the clergy—speaking of them as having “been delivered over to a reprobate mind.” Wolsey's mandate reached Abbot Parker on the 26th September, 1519, and he had no choice but to submit to a visitation.⁴ In 1524 Parker wrote acknowledging himself in debt to the Cardinal to the extent of £40 17s. 6d., by reason of a visitation legatine, and promising to pay the same in three annual instalments of £13 14s. 2d.⁵

¹See Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society's Transactions, Vol. VII., p. 33.

²Vol. I., No. 250. Vol. II., 94, 277.

³Vol. I., 33, 68, 71, 156, 196, 203, 216, 245, 316. Vol. II., 169, 274.

⁴Vol. I., 156.

⁵Vol. II., 96.

In 1530, after Wolsey's disgrace, Henry the Eighth brought the whole clergy under the statutes of *præmunire* for having acknowledged the Cardinal's legatine authority, ignoring the fact that it had been granted to Wolsey by the Pope at his own Royal desire. The clergy were driven to seek for pardon, and only obtained it on the payment of a subsidy to the King of £173,840 9s. 6d., a sum equal to two millions of our money. The Abbot of Gloucester had to pay £500, in five annual instalments. An account of the whole transaction appears in the Register.¹

In 1534 Dr. Gwent, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commissary, armed with an autograph letter from Henry the Eighth, administered the oath of the King's supremacy to the Abbot and his monks in this Chapter-House. The terms of the oath are given in the Register. The King's letter was accompanied by a mandate to the sheriffs and magistrates of the county to take into custody and imprison during the King's pleasure any who refused to take the oath.²

It now remains for me to refer, and that very briefly, to the entries in the Register which were the outcome of the Abbot's relations with the officers and servants of the Abbey, with the secular clergy, who looked to him as their patron, and with his numerous tenantry. Within the Abbey the prior, the sacristan, the almoner, the hosteller, the master of the works, the refectorer, the cellarer, the precentor, the infirmarer, the town monk had duties which were as clearly defined by tradition as those of the Abbot himself. To each were allotted by the charity and forethought of pious donors certain portions of the Abbey estates, not for his own profit or enjoyment, but for the furtherance of his office. Henry Marmion, a tenant of the Abbey, occupied the Great Inn in St. John's-lane, built no doubt as a hostelry for the pilgrims to Edward the Second's shrine, but long disused as such. He rented also two cottages and a bakehouse adjoining. His rent was not all paid to the Abbot's clerk, but part of it to the chief prior and part to the infirmarer, as the donors of the property had probably desired centuries before.³

¹ Vol. II., 95, 98.

² Vol. II., 169, 175.

³ Vol. II., 159.

Without the Abbey, men of high position, as Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas More, and Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, were willing to accept the office and remuneration of seneschal or chief steward.¹

Honest citizens like Robert Ingram, who was afterwards the host of John Hooper the day before his martyrdom, were proud to serve the Abbot as chief porter, or as bailiffs of his forty manors. With his salary of 13s. 4d., paid quarterly, his chamber in the Abbey next the Abbey gate, his weekly allowance of white loaves called myches, his 3s. 4d. a quarter for ale, his mess of flesh or fish on feast or fast, Robert Ingram, as he went to Mass on the Feast of our Lord's nativity in his new livery of broadcloth from the cellarer's store, and a great key hanging from his belt, envied no man unless it were my Lord Abbot himself.²

William Parker was a good landlord, and his tenants were more prosperous and contented than those of the great lords around him. When the leases of his manors fell in, there was no imposition of heavy fines for renewal on fresh lives, no increase of the rent. Moreover, the Abbot was a man of peace, and save when the King demanded soldiers for some foreign raid, there was no mention of military service. Tenants paid their rent partly in money and partly in kind. Customary dues of forced labour were redeemed by low-fixed payments, and every facility was given to the serf to purchase his entire freedom. There are frequent entries in the Register of the manumission of a Bond, a Prysers, a Forthey, a Dancey, a Horner, a Gibbs, a Payn, a Sisemore, a Webb, serfs by birth of the Abbey manors of Upton St. Leonards, Ablode, Maisemore, Saintbridge, Highnam, Wotton, Tuffley, and Hartpury.³

The position of the secular clergy in the town parishes was fairly good. Chantries, founded in later times for the repose of the souls of deceased Churchmen, swelled the income to what might fairly be called "a living," but the position of the village priests who served the vicarages of the Abbey was miserable in

¹Vol. I., 304 366-7.

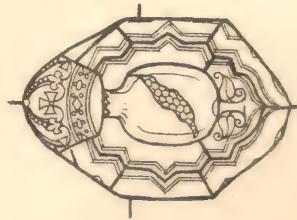
²Vol. II., 221.

³Vol. I., 243, 249, 270, &c.

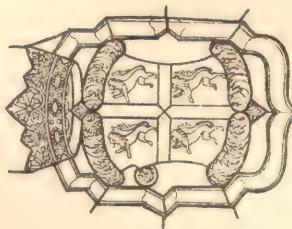
the extreme. “ The mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn ” was muzzled for the benefit of the wealthy monks. Tithes, which from the earliest times were intended for the support of the ministering priest, were alienated from their proper use ; and the incumbent had to take his scanty pittance from the grudging hand of the lessee of the Abbey rectory or manor. At Brookthorpe, for instance, a rectory which is still connected with this Cathedral, the church-house was let to the parish wardens, John Niblett and Richard Organ ; and only one chamber, called the Cross chamber, was reserved for the use of William Nicholson, the presbyter or priest ; and at brewing time, for the profits of the Church, the Cross chamber too was given up to the brewing of Church ale, till the churchwardens’ expenses were secured by the drunkenness and debauchery of the parishioners. When the dissolution of the monasteries came—and for the welfare of the Church and nation it came not a year too soon—the great majority of the parochial clergy had little to lose, and lost next to nothing.

The architect, the artist, the student, the antiquarian may deplore the ruin of stately buildings, on which for so many generations were lavished the wealth of the nobles and the labour of the monks ; they may lament the dispersion and loss of chronicle, illuminated missal, and the apparatus of scholastic lore, with which the monastic libraries were filled. But we may all unite in thanking God that, notwithstanding the rapacity and greed of the relentless King, and the cowardice and irreligion of his cringing courtiers, out of all this robbery and desolation there came at length freedom from superstition, higher spiritual life, and a widespread knowledge of Holy Writ.

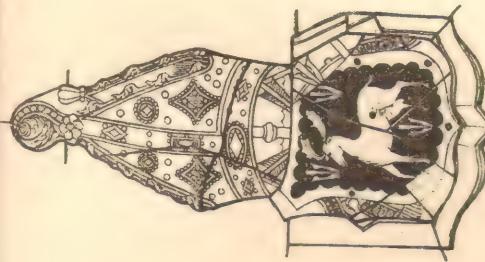
Plates V. and VI., which are facsimiles of illustrations to the *History of Prinknash Park* referred to above, are inserted as giving examples of the work of William Parker or Malverne in one of that abbot’s residences. Plate V., Fig. 1, represents Edward IV.’s badge ; Fig. 2, a figure of Henry VIII. in low relief ; Fig. 3, the Abbot’s initials on the spandrel of a Tudor doorway ; Plate VI., Figs. 1 and 2, his arms and device ; Fig. 3, Queen Katharine’s Badge ; Fig. 4, the arms of Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine of Arragon ; Figs. 5 and 6, the arms attributed to Osric, founder of St. Peter’s.



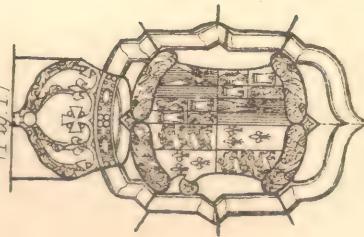
(Fig. 3.)



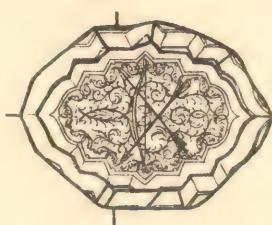
(Fig. 6.)



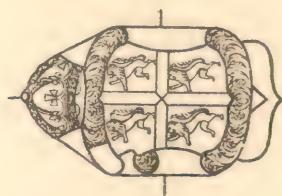
(Fig. 1.)



(Fig. 4.)

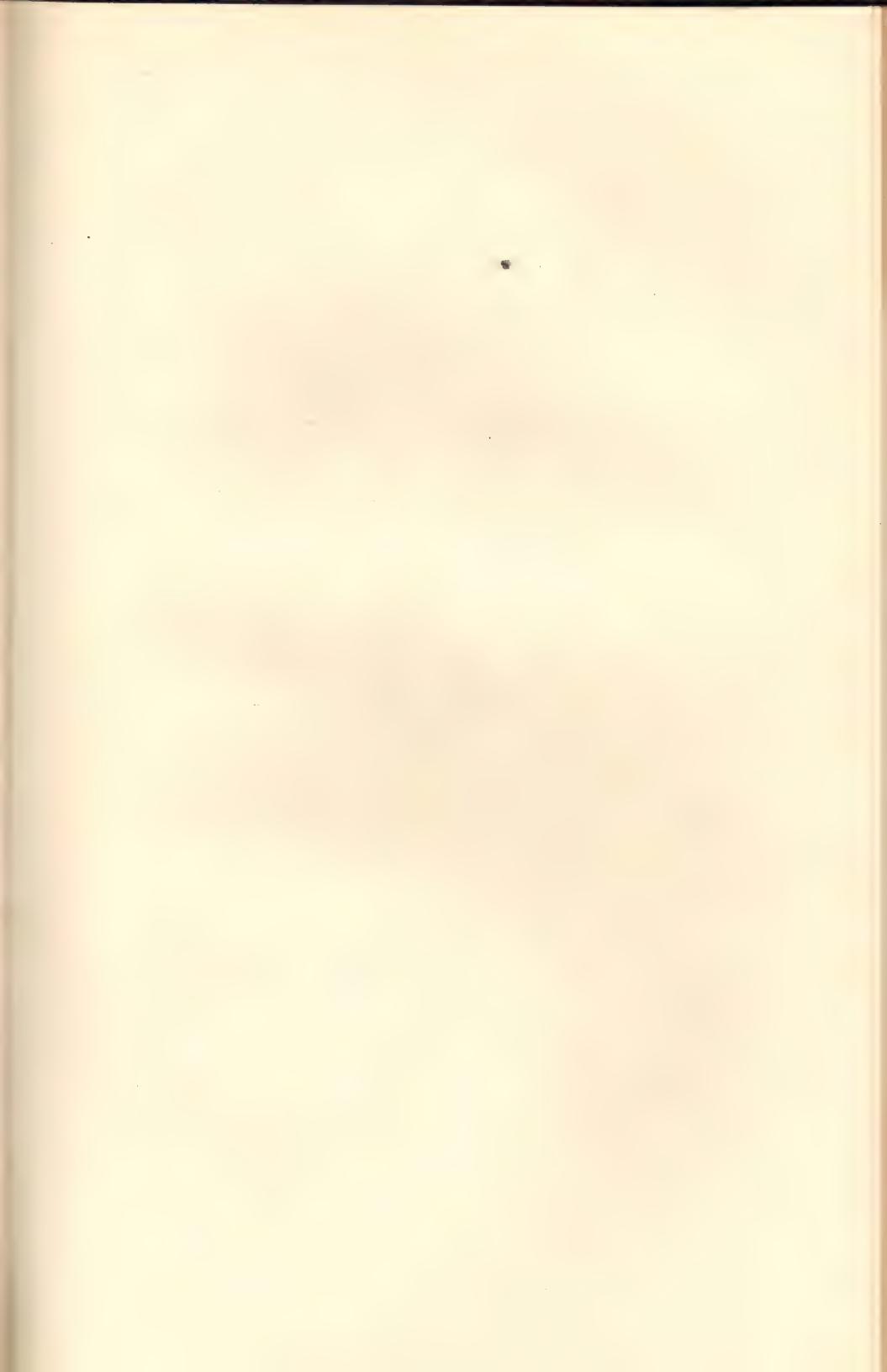


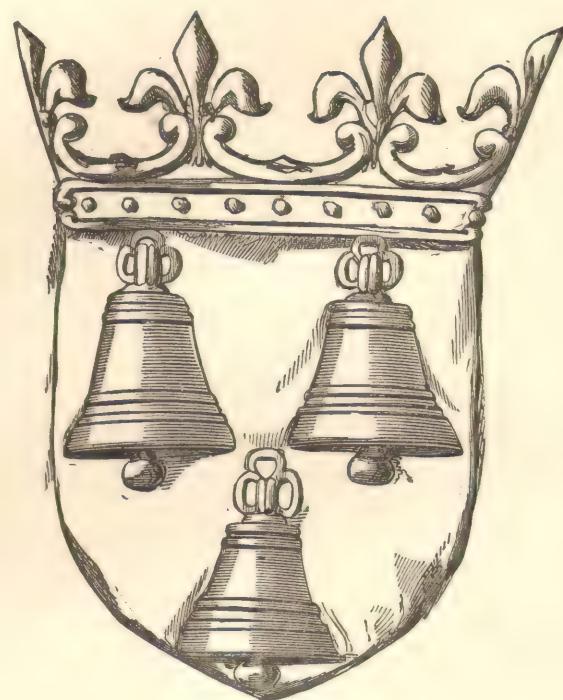
(Fig. 2.)



(Fig. 5.)







(Fig. 11.)



(Fig. 2.)



(Fig. 1.)

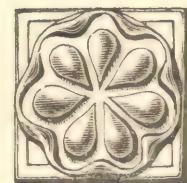


Fig. 3.)

THE BELLS AND BELL-FOUNDERS OF
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

By the REV. F. E. BROOME WITTS, M.A.

A VERY interesting paper on the Bell Foundry of Gloucester was read by the Rev. C. W. Lukis at the meeting of the British Archæological Association at Hereford in July, 1866; and a very valuable work on the Church Bells of Gloucestershire has lately been issued by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, Rector of Clyst. S. George, Devon. Both these gentlemen have kindly given me permission to extract from their notes all that I may require to illustrate my subject.

There was a bell foundry in Gloucester certainly as early as the reign of Edward III., and the Gloucester bell-founder of that date had a reputation far and wide. Probably this foundry came into existence under the auspices of the monks of S. Peter's, and the early founders were tenants or serfs of the abbey.

Master John of Gloucester was so renowned that the monks of Ely sent for him in 1345 to cast three bells for their newly-built belfry. In the Sacrist's Roll, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, it is recorded that Master John of Gloucester cast four bells at Ely, and that he bought the several materials necessary for the work at various places, and sent them to Ely by water.

Some years ago a bell-founder's seal was found in the River Thames, the date of which may be assigned to about the year 1330. (See Plate VII., Fig. 1.) It bears the emblems of the bell-founder's craft, viz., a laver-pot or ewer, and above it a bell: around these are the legend *S' Sandre de Gloucestre.*

On the second bell of the Cathedral, which bears the legend *Sancte Petre Ora Pro Nobis*, are the initials *J. S.* Mr. Lukis suggests that John of Gloucester's surname was Sandre, and that these initials are his.

Gloucester Abbey had a family of serfs belonging to its manor of Maisemore bearing the patronymic of Saunders; and there are in Abbot Parker's Register (1513-1539), counterparts of the deeds of manumission of John Saunders and of Thomas Saunders, clerk, both naifs of Maisemore. These serfs may have been descendants of the bell-founder of Edward III.'s time. There is also stamped on this bell, between the initials, the reverse of a silver penny, bearing a Cross fleurie, extending to the edge of the coin, with three pellets in the angles. 'Round the pellets are the words "Villa Bristollie."¹

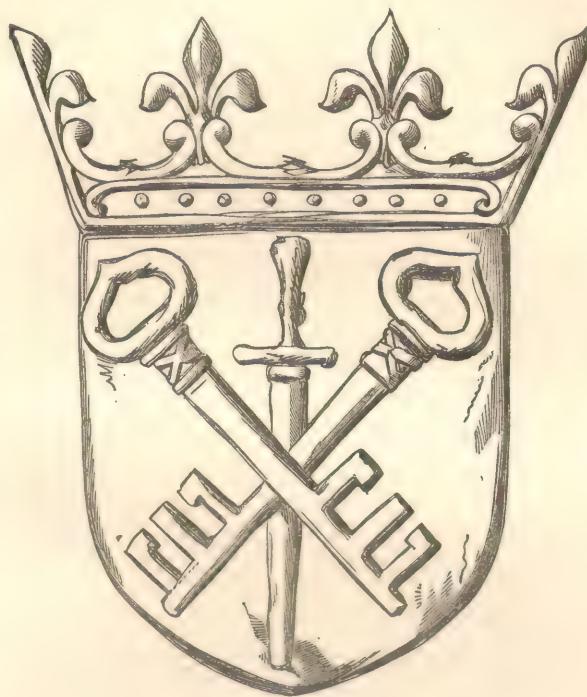
The next Gloucester bell-founder of whom we have any record is Robert Hendlel or Handlei (Mr. Ellacombe spells the name both ways), whose name appears on a mediæval bell in the tower of S. Nicholas, Gloucester, a church formerly in the patronage of the abbey. The legend on the bell says that it was cast in the time of Clement Lichfield the Sacrist. The bell-founder may have been an ancestor or kinsman of Richard Hanley, Abbot of S. Peter's, 1457-1472.

The next founder we meet with is William Henshaw, who was buried in S. Michael's Church, Gloucester, where a monumental brass was laid down during his lifetime,² recording the decease of his first wife, Alice. A space is left for the date of his own decease, but none for that of his second wife Agnes. The effigies of the wives remain; that of the bell-founder is gone. There are also spaces for three sons and three daughters, and the devices of a bell and melting pot. The legend is:—

¹The obverse of a similar coin in my possession bears the head of the sovereign, and the legend "EDWD. ANGL. DNS HYB."—ED.

²If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live No longer in monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps.

—*Much Ado About Nothing*; Act. V., Sc. 2.



(Fig. 12.)



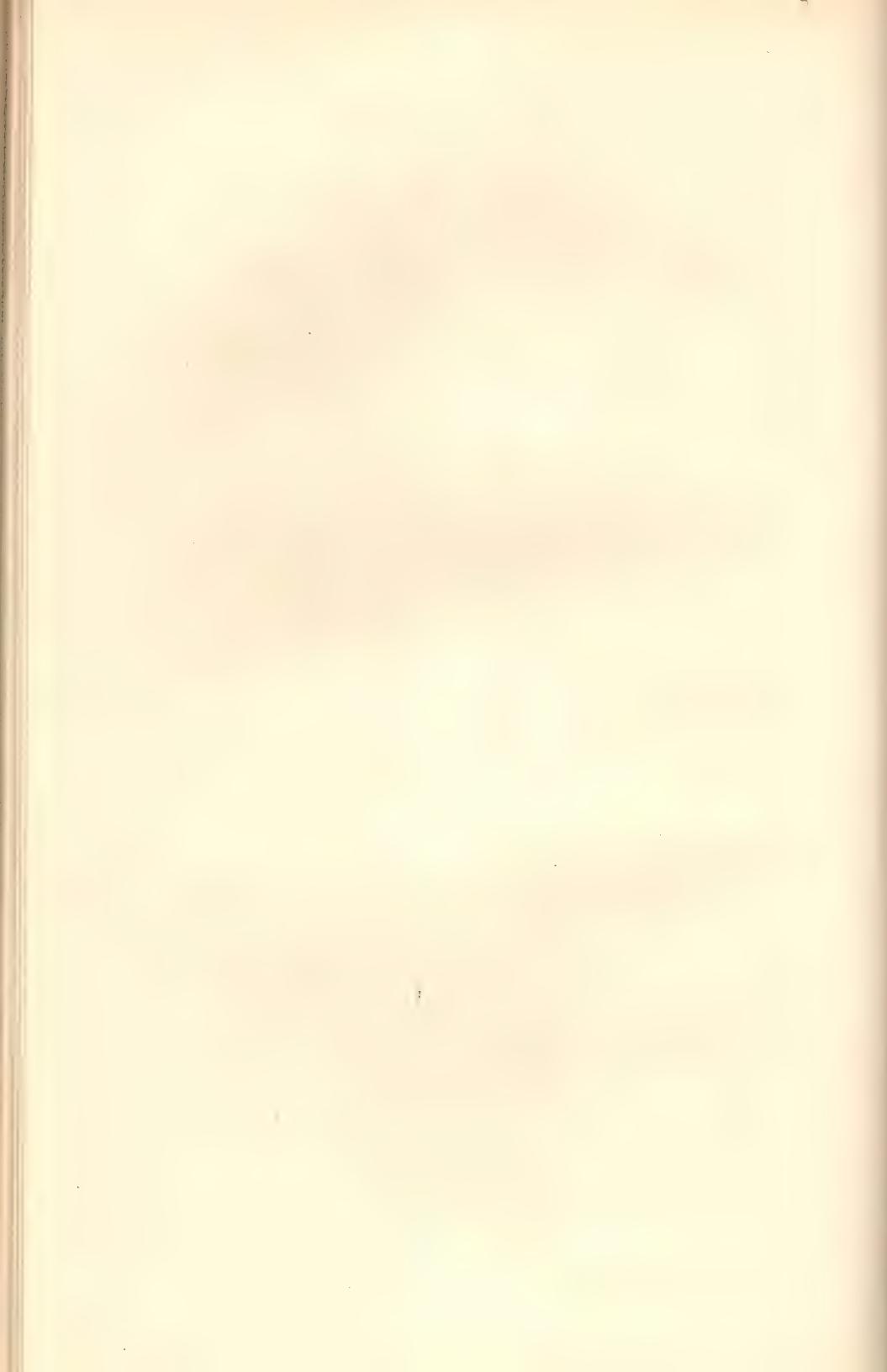
(Fig. 4.)



(Fig. 5.)



(Fig. 6.)



Praye for the soules of William Henshalwe, Bellfounder and late Maire of this towne, and Alys and Agnes his wyfes: the whiche William deceased the day of in the yere of our Lord God a thousand ccccc. : the said Alyse decessyd the seconde daye of February the yere of our Lord mvr ix., for whose soules of yr. charitie say a Pater Noster and an Ave. William Henhsaw was Sheriff of Gloucester in 1496 and 1501, and Mayor in 1503, 1508, and 1509. In Abbot Braunche's Register, N. 45, there is a lease, dated June 28, 1502, by the Abbot and Convent to William Hanshaw and wife Alice of a tenement in Smith (Longsmith) street, lying between a tenement belonging to the Sacrist's Office on the north and a tenement belonging to the service of S. Mary in Trinity Church on the south, with the highway on the west, and some land belonging to S. Bartholomew's Hospital on the east. William Hanshawe is described in the lease as Brazier, and in the house leased to him there are stated to be two furnaces the property of the lessors. These premises were re-let to Lewis ap Rice in 1530, and the furnaces are stated to be at that time used for brewing.

Mr. Ellacombe, p. 118, gives the will of Richard Atkyns, Bell-founder, of the town of Gloucester, in the parish of S. Michael, in which he mentions his brothers William and Thomas; John, Robert, and Agnes, the children of his brother Thomas; his brother, Sir William Atkyns (probably a clerk); and his wife Margery. He desires to be buried in the Church of S. Michael's, Gloucester. The will was made on the 27th December, 1529, and proved at Lambeth in the following February.¹

In Abbot Parker's Register, Vol. I., No. 300, there is a copy of the following agreement between the Abbot and Thomas Loveday:—"This Indenture, made the sixteenth day of July, the seventeenth yere of the regne of King Henry the Eighth, bitwene

¹Rudge, in his History of Gloucester, p. 120, says that William Henshaw lived in Eastgate Street, and had his bell foundry in Bell Lane, at the back of the present Market House. It is very probable that Richard Atkyns, Bell-founder, lived in Eastgate Street, as he describes himself as "in the parish of S. Michael." Probably Richard Atkyns succeeded William Henshaw in the business.

William, by the sufferaunce of God Abbott of Seint Peters in Gloucettour, one the oone partye, and Thomas Loveday, burgeys and blaksmith of Gloucettour, in the Countye of the Towne of Gloucettour, one the other partye, witnessithe that the seid Thomas Loveday hathe covenanted and bargayned with the seid abbott to make newe and repayre a chyme gonge uppon eight belles within the seid monastery, and uppon two ympnes, that is to say, *Christe Redemptor omnium*, and *Chorus Novæ Jerusalem*, well, tuynably, and wokemanly in all thinges necessary by him to the same as yerne-work and wyer, by the fest of All Sayntes next ensuyng the date of thyse presentes. And furthermore, yerely after to repayre and mayntayne the seid chyme and the clok there in all the seid yrenwerke and wyer, duringe his life, at his propre costes and expenses, so that the stiffe to the same belonginge after the first new repayre thereof, amount not at oone tyme to the somme of twelve pence; for the whiche newe repayre and mainteynaunce of the seid chyme and clok in maner and fourme before specified by the seid Thomas Loveday well and workemanly to be doone the seid abbott promyseth to content and pay unto the seid Thomas Loveday four marcs sterlinge at the fynisshement of his seid new repayre, and yerely after duringe the liffe of the seid Thomas Loveday, for the mayntenaunce of the seid chyme and clok, to content and pay unto hym at the fest of Michelmas six shillings eight pence sterlinge, by thandes of the sextene of the monastery for the tyme beinge, and yerely at the fest of the Nativite of our Lorde oone lyvery for a coote or a gowne of suche livery as the seid abbott to his householde servauntes at that tyme dothe giffe, at the charge of the cellerer for the tyme beinge. In witness whereof," &c., &c.

Thomas Loveday and other members of his family were tenants of the Abbey. On the 4th of April, 1519, the Abbot leased to Thomas Loveday and wife Elizabeth a tenement and garden adjacent lying between the two north gates, and having on the one side a tenement of Llanthony Priory, and on the other a tenement of Lady Anne in S. John's Church. On the 25th of December, 1530, the Abbot re-leased the same premises to Thomas Loveday and wife Elizabeth, and Thomas, Robert, and John

their sons, for 61 years, if the survivor should live so long. Thomas Loveday was sheriff of Gloucester in 1537 and 1542 and mayor in 1546 and 1555.

At the time of the dissolution of St. Peter's there were nine bells hanging in the belfry, four of which and the legend of another still remain. Some of them appear to have been cast at a date anterior to the building of the tower itself, and were without doubt a part of the ring of bells whose voices pealed forth from the old abbey tower of which the present stately structure is such a worthy successor.¹ Not only have they survived the

¹The present tower seems to have had two predecessors since the time of Aldred. The Norman tower built by Abbot Serlo, 1089—1100, the piers of which still remain, probably resembled the tower of Tewkesbury Abbey, (see Ante, p. 107,) and may have had a wooden spire or belfry; for we learn from the Saxon Chronicle that on March 8th, 1122, whilst the monks were singing mass, and just as the deacon was beginning the gospel “*Præteriens Jesus*,” the fire burst out from the upper part of the steeple, and burnt the whole monastery. On some Sunday between 1163 and 1179 whilst Roger, Bishop of Worcester, and son of the great Earl Roger, was celebrating mass at the high altar of S. Peter's, the north western tower, owing to a defect in the foundations, fell down suddenly, just as he was concluding.—Gir. Cam. Ang. Sac. II., 428. Professor Willis, in the delightful lecture on the Cathedral, which he gave to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute in 1860, says that it was this north-western tower that Helias rebuilt; but the History of S. Peter's distinctly records that in 1222 the great eastern tower of the Church (‘*Magna turris ecclesie orientalis*’) was erected with the aid of Helias of Hereford, the sacrist of the Monastery. The Norman tower had probably been rendered unsafe by the frequent conflagrations.—Hist. S. Pet. I., 25. There are no traces visible at the present time of this thirteenth century tower. In 1242 a new south-western tower was commenced by Walter S. John, then Prior, and afterwards Abbot for a few weeks, and was completed by his successor, John de la Feld.—Hist. S. Pet. I., p. 30. Both the western towers have disappeared. They were probably destroyed by John Morwent, (Abbot 1421—1437) to make room for the two western bays and the south porch. In 1300 a fire broke out in the great court of the Abbey, and destroyed a little bell tower, as well as the great hall and the cloisters.—Hist. S. Pet., I., p. 35. In the time of Thomas Seabroke, Abbot 1450—1457, the great eastern tower was taken down as far as the Norman piers, and was rebuilt in the perpendicular style of that period. Over the east arch of the tower are written the following lines:—

Hoc quod digestum specularis opusq^e politum,

Tulii hoc[?] ex onere Seabroke Abbate jubente.

This work which you behold constructed and adorned is the result of Tully's labour, at Abbot Seabroke's bidding. Robert Tully, a monk of S. Peter's, was consecrated Bishop of S. David's in 1460; he died in 1482, and was buried at Tenby. The date of the present tower may be given as 1450—1460.—ED.

demolition of their old belfry in the fifteenth century, but they have also escaped other and more formidable dangers that befel their class in later times. At the dissolution of monasteries it could hardly have been expected that the hand of the despoiler would fail to fall on the valuable metal of which bells were made. The more prominent the position in which they were placed the less likely would they be to escape observation. It is not surprising therefore that as a general rule the towers of old abbey churches are marked by the absence of the bells that called the monks to prayer. To this rule Gloucester and its sister Cathedral Bristol are fortunately exceptions. The Churches of Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Winchcombe no longer contain any bells that belonged to the old abbeys of those places, while at Hayles tower and bells alike have been swept away.¹ That such a prominent tower as that of Gloucester Cathedral should retain so large a proportion of old bells is the more remarkable when it is remembered that, as a rule, such bells are only found in out-of-the-way places where they would appear to have escaped notice. In the Public Record Office (Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Miscellanea, Church Goods $\frac{2}{7}$ and $\frac{2}{7A}$) there are inventories of all the goods, plate, jewels, bells, vestments, and other ornaments belonging to the parish churches of Downe Hatherley and S. Owen's, Gloucester, in which it appears that proctors were appointed to draw up these inventories for the information of the commissioners of Edward VI., these being in July, 1552, John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester, John Sandford, Mayor of Gloucester, and Sir Thomas Bell, Knight.

The following extract from a deed in the custody of Mr. A. C. Hooper, of Worcester, throws some light on the circumstances under which Gloucester was allowed to retain her ring of bells:—

¹The five bells of Hayles Abbey were granted by the Lord Treasurer, February 6th, 1554, to the parishioners of Stratford-on-Avon. The eight bells of Winchcombe were given by Queen Mary to John, 1st Lord Chandos, and sold by him. Two went to Stoneleigh, and of these one remains intact and the other has been recast, but the old inscription has been preserved in the parish records.—Ellacombe, pp. 11, 12, 81.

"This indenture made the xxvijth daye of Maye in the seventhe yere of the raigne of or Soveraigne Lord Edward the Sixte (A.D. 1553), by the grace of God of Ingland, ffrance, and Ireland, Kinge, Defender of the faithe, and in earthe of the Churche of Ingland and also of Ireland supreme Hedd. Betweene the Reverend Father in God John Bishopp of Worceter and Glouceter, Thomas Payne, Maior of the Citie of Glouceter, and Thomas Bell, Knyght, Commissioners assigned in the citie of Glouceter and Countie of the same citie by vertue of the Kings Mats Commission to them addressed on the one parte and Willm Jenyns, Deane of the Cathedrall Churche of the Blessed Trynytie in Glouceter, and Chapter of the same of the other parte, witnessethe that we the seid Commissioners have receaved of the said Deane and Chapter all suche churche goods, money, juells, plate, vestments, ornaments, and bells, to the use of our seid Soveraigne Lord the Kinge as to them or theire predecessor Deane and Chapter were heretofore delyvered and remayned in his or theire owne custodie and kepynge comprised and specified in an Inventorie indented heretofore by them exhibited before the Kings Mats Commissioners in that behalf appoyned, berynge date the vth daye of September laste paste before the date hereof, and moreover the said Commissioners according to the tenor and effecte of their seid commission have efsones redelyvered unto the seid Deane and Chapter to and for the use and behouf of the seid Churche one chalys being silver and whole gilte without a paten wayinge a leven uncs and also one grete bell whereupon the cloke strykithe, and eight other grete bells whereupon the chyme goithe hangynge in the towre there within the seid churche save and surely to be kepte untill the Kings Mats pleasure shall be therein further knownen. In witnes whereof to these presente indentures the parties aforesaid have interchangeably putt theire seales gevyn the daye and yere firste above written.

JOHN HOPER, Bisshopp
of Waur and Glour.

THOMAS
PAYNE.

THOMAS
BELL."

It will be noticed that with the exception of a silver gilt chalice the bells alone remained unconfiscated. While money, jewels, plate, vestments, ornaments, and other church goods were delivered up to the King's Commissioners the bells were left untouched until the king's pleasure in the matter should be further known. Within three months Edward the Sixth was dead; his pleasure was, it is to be presumed, never further notified. In the tower of the Cathedral therefore the survivors of those nine bells still remain. Long may it be before it shall be the pleasure of either prince or people to remove them from the post they have so long retained.

As all that was not considered absolutely necessary for the conduct of the simpler form of Divine worship, that followed the Reformation, was taken away, it would not have been a matter of surprise had but one bell been left in the tower. The fact of the clock and chimes being mentioned in connection with the retention of the whole number of bells allows of a supposition that they may have owed their lives to the clock and chimes which struck upon them. The citizens of Gloucester may well have interceded on behalf of the chimes that had been lately put in order by their last Abbot, and which marked for them so pleasantly the rapid flight of time.

A complaint was brought against Bishop Hooper in Queen Mary's reign that he had carried on with activity the work of demolition in Worcester Cathedral: "Our belles and organs be broken, our altars and chapels are by Hoper violated and overthrown."¹ But it must be remembered that, however congenial the task, Bishop Hooper was only acting in obedience to commands that he dared not ignore.

The following list of the bells in order from treble to tenor is given in the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe's work on the Bells of Gloucestershire. The numbers in brackets refer to the illustrations of bell marks in Plates VII., VIII., IX. and X., the blocks for which have been kindly lent by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe:—

¹Diocesan History of Worcester, published by S.P.C.K., 1883, p. 174.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

1 [2] ROBARTE NEVCOMBE OF LEICESTER MADE MEE
 [2] DOCTOR LEWES DANEE 1598. Diam. $29\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

2 [3] Sancte Petre Ora Pro Nobis. [4] [5] [6]. Diam. $29\frac{3}{4}$.

3 IOHN RUDHALL GLOUCESTER FECT. 1810. Diam. $31\frac{3}{4}$.

4 IOHN RUDHALL GLOUCESTER FECT. 1810. Diam. 36.

5 [8] In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Iohannis. [7]
 Diam. 37.

6 [9] Sum Rosa Vulsata Mundi Maria Voca.

7 [10] E: W: T. 1626 [9] .sileirbaG .nemnon .oebah .silec
 .ed .issiM Diam. 48.

8 DAN: NEWCOME, DECAN: NATH: LYE: SUBD: NATH:
 PANTING: TRESS: [13] [14] [15] 1736. Diam. $51\frac{1}{2}$. E 2

9 Great Peter, or Clock Bell. [11] [12] Me [12] fecit [12]
 fieri [12] Combentus [12] nomine [10] Petri [11]. Diam.
 $68\frac{1}{2}$. C #.

I will take the bells in order of date. The coin and the letters J. S. give a clue to the date of the second bell; but there is very little to guide us in assigning a date to the fifth, sixth, and Great Peter. They were all cast before the Dissolution; this is all that can be said for certain of them.

The legend on a mediæval bell was generally either laudatory of some favourite saint or angel, or an appeal for his prayers. Sometimes his name was given to the bell. This is the case with Great Peter, which bears the legend Me fecit fieri Combentus nomine Petri; the arms of the Abbey a *sword in pale, hilted and pommelled, surmounted by two keys in saltire*, and also on the shoulder the arms of the founder—*three bells*. It would be interesting to inquire when arms were first borne by the Abbey. There is a reference to them as early as 1327.¹

¹Ante, p. 105, note.

Mr. Lukis assigns the date 1350 to the second bell; and it is not unlikely that it was cast at that time, as the Abbey was then being greatly enriched by the offerings of pilgrims to the tomb of Edward II.

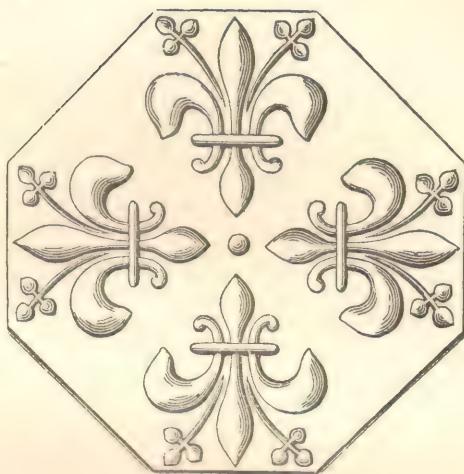
The fifth bell bears the legend *In multis annis resonet Campana Iohannis*. The sixth bell in S. Werburgh's Church (now removed to Mina Road, Baptist Mills), Bristol, bears the same legend, and also the floriated cross (fig. 10) which has been preserved on the seventh bell of Gloucester Cathedral. A careful comparison of legends and bell marks would probably throw much light on mediæval bell-founding.

The sixth bell has the beautiful legend, *Sum rosa pulsata Mandi Maria Votata*, and the emblem of the Virgin, the fleur-de-lys (Fig. 9). Several churches, formerly belonging to S. Peter's, have "Mary" bells, as they are sometimes called, still hanging in their belfries. S. Nicholas, Gloucester, Hardwick, Matson, and Standish are examples.

The first or treble bell was cast, as the inscription shows, by Robert Newcombe, a bell-founder of Leicester, in the time of Dr. Lewis Griffith, Dean 1584-1607. The last word is spelt thus strangely—"Danee," to rhyme with "mee."

The seventh bell had originally the legend *Missi de celis habeo nomen Gabrielis*, evidently a reference to S. Luke, i, 26: "The angel Gabriel was sent from God," and perhaps also to S. Luke, i, 19.

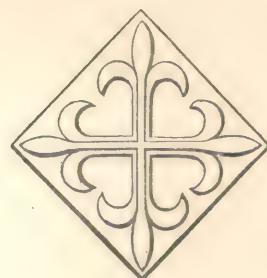
There are bells at Boddington, Notgrove, Rendcombe, and Leonard Stanley bearing this same legend, and at Duntisbury Rous, Sevenhampton, Swindon, and Wapley, with the legend *Sancte Gabriel Ora Pro Nobis*. It was a very beautiful idea to give a bell, that called Christians to hear the glad tidings of salvation, the name of the pure and lofty being who first of all bore the promise of our Lord's coming to the Holy Virgin, and who rejoiced the hearts of the aged Zacharias and Elizabeth.



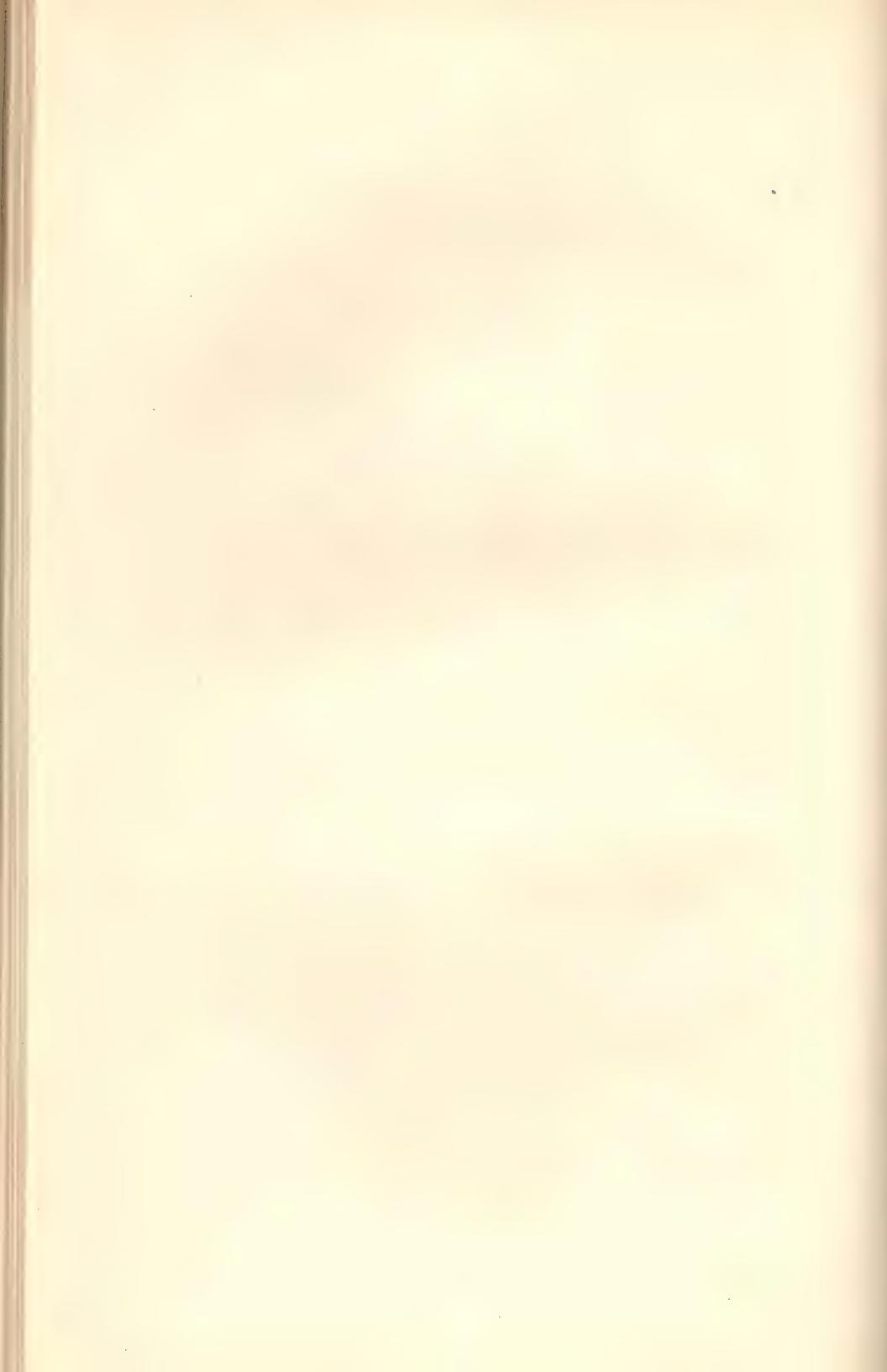
(Fig. 9.)

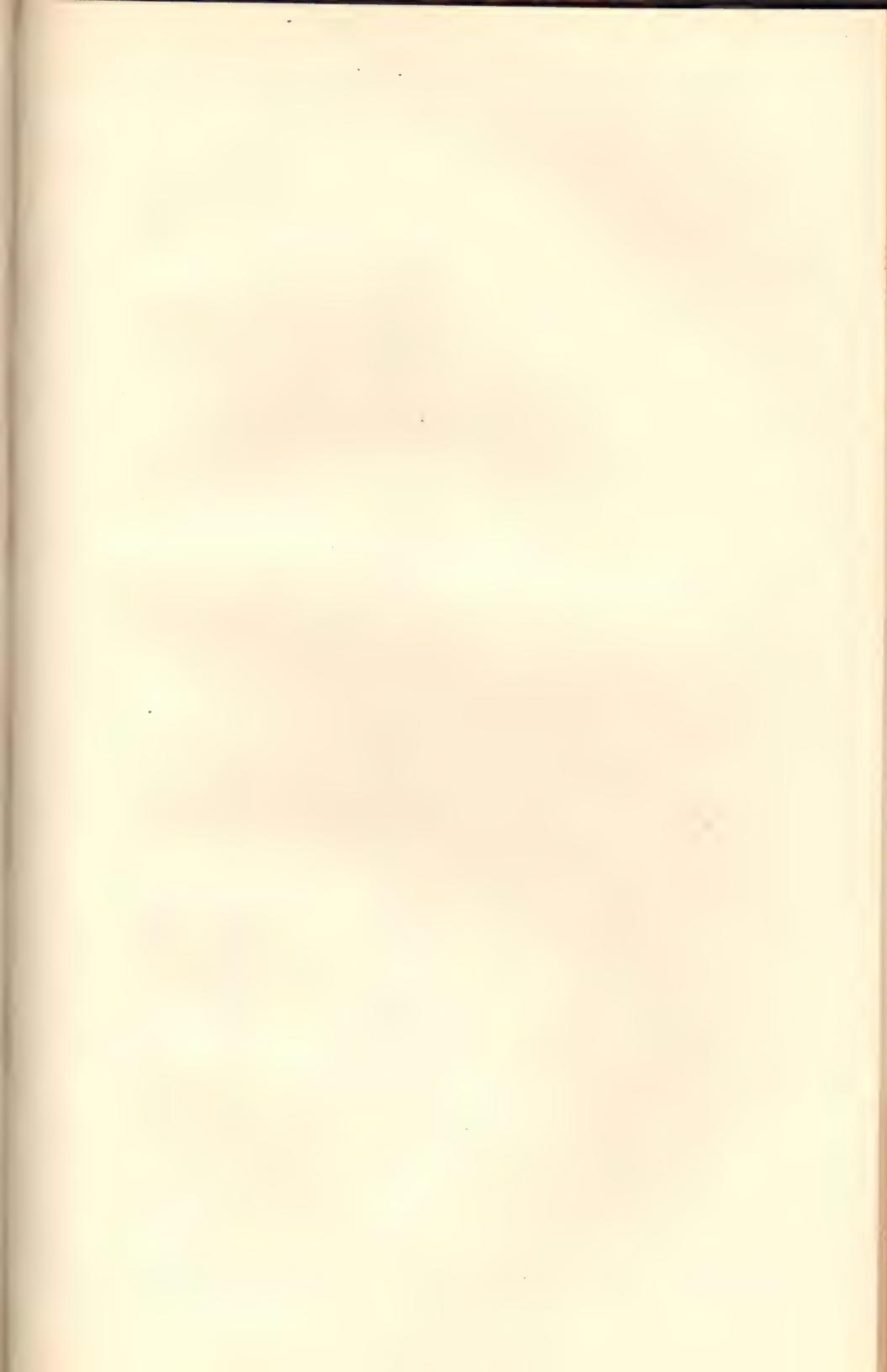


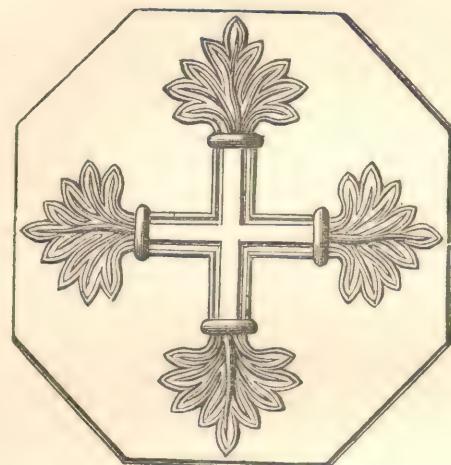
(Fig. 7.)



(Fig. 8.)







(Fig. 10.)



(Fig. 13.)



(Fig. 14.)



(Fig. 15.)

The first Cathedral bell-founder of whom we know anything after the Dissolution was John Pennington, who recast the seventh bell in 1626, and preserved the reverse of the old legend and bell mark. The following extract is taken from the account of Mr. Elias Wrench, Receiver-General, or Treasurer of the Cathedral Church, from Michaelmas, 1625, to Michaelmas, 1626 :

1626 ffor Beere when we agreed for Casting		
ye bell	^{d.} vj	
ffor one hundred and 8 powndes of newe		
yron for the tenor and the worme,	^{s.} j.	
at 3 ^d the pownde	^{s.} xv	
July 6 ffor peicing the sheerer and plates of		
the new bell	^{d.} vij	
ffor 10 pounds more of newe Vron for		
ye same bell	^{s.} ij	^{d.} xij
ffor an axtree for the Beams ...	^{s.} j	
To John Pennington for Casting the		
Bell	^{l.} vij	
To Him for 484 Pounds of Mettall ...	^{l.} ij	^{s.} ij
Bestowed upon him in regard of wast	^{s.} ij	^{d.} ij
Given to his man		^{d.} xij
Bestowed upon the Ringers in Beere		
for helping downe and up with ye		
Bell	^{s.} ij	^{d.} vj
Given to the wayers	^{d.} vj	

I cannot find the name of Pennington as a citizen of Gloucester in the early part of the seventeenth century. He may have been brought from some other town for the purpose of recasting this bell. In the "Guide to the Cathedral," written by the late Rev. H. Haines and Mr. F. S. Waller it is stated that the letters E. W. T. on the seventh bell are the initials of Thomas Winiffe,

Dean. He was Dean at this time, but they are more probably the initials of Elias Wrench, Treasurer, who was Prebendary of the second stall from 1598 to 1633. On a brass plate in the South Transept was formerly this inscription: "Hic quod reliquum est de corpore Elias Wrench, hujus ecclesiae per annos 34 Prebendarii."—(Fosbroke's Gloucester, fol. ed., p. 137.)

The eighth bell, the next bell in order of date, was re-cast by Abraham Rudhall, 1736, in the time of Daniel Newcombe, Dean, Nathaniel Lye, sub-Dean, and Nathaniel Panting, Treasurer. The Rudhalls were very distinguished Gloucester bell-founders for one hundred and fifty years. The earliest bell that is known to have been cast by Rudhall is at Oddington, and bears the date 1684. The Gloucester foundry was closed in 1828, seven years before the death of John Rudhall, the last of the Gloucester bell-founders. There are monuments to the Rudhalls in the Cloisters hard by the door of the Chapter House, and in the north aisle of the nave. There are also tablets to the family in St. John the Baptist's Church. The following is a list of the bell-founders of this family:—

Abraham Rudhall, died 1736, aged 78.

Abraham Rudhall, his son, died 1735, aged 55.

Abel Rudhall, son of the latter, died 1760, aged 46.

Thomas Rudhall, son of Abel, died 1783. Charles Rudhall, son of Abel, died 1815; and John, son of Abel, died 1835, aged 75. ~

The third and fourth bells were re-cast by John Rudhall in 1810.

The inscriptions on the bells for which these two were substituted were:—

3 GUL. JANE, S. T. P. DEC. ANNO DOM. 1686. (?)¹

4 Sit nomen Domini Benedictum.

¹Mr. Ellacombe gives the date as 1666; but William Jane was not installed as Dean until 1683. He died in 1707.

The chimes of the Cathedral play four tunes set in the key of C minor, the ring being tuned in the key of E $\frac{1}{2}$, and the great bell giving the sound of C. The four tunes are pricked on a self-acting barrel which changes the tune every other day at 5 a.m. The first tune was a composition of Dr. Jefferies, Canon of S. Paul's, London, in 1791; the second was composed by W. Hayes, Mus. Doc., formerly a native of Gloucester and a chorister boy in the Cathedral. He died in 1777. The third was composed by Dr. Malchair c. 1760-70. The fourth was composed by Dr. Stevens, also a distinguished native of Gloucester and a Cathedral chorister boy. The chimes were arranged for the piano by the late Alfred Whitehead.

In conclusion let me express the hope that the good wish contained in the legend of the fifth bell may apply to it and all its companions:

In multis annis resonet Campana Johannis.

EXTRACTS FROM LELAND'S COLLECTIONS,
RELATING TO ST. PETER'S ABBEY AND ITS DEPENDANT PRIORIES.

WITH NOTES BY THE REV. W. BAZELEY, M.A.

JOHN LELAND, the King's librarian, received a commission from Henry VIII. in 1533-4, under the broad seal, to visit all parts of the kingdom and draw up a topographical account for his royal master's information. He was empowered to examine the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, priories, and colleges, and to report upon their contents. The value and quantity of his notes are immense. The work that he did, during the six years that he spent in his researches, forms the basis of every good county history.

We gather from internal evidence that Leland visited St. Peter's, Gloucester, at the close of its existence as a monastery. He speaks of Malverne, *alias* Parker, as late Abbot of Gloucester. William Parker sat for the last time in the House of Lords as Abbot of Gloucester, in June, 1539. Nothing more is recorded of him after this date. The Abbey was surrendered in January, 1539-40, by the Prior, who seems at that time to have held the temporalities. Probably William Parker was then dead, and had been buried in the mortuary chapel, he had built in the choir. I conjecture that John Leland's visit was made during the autumn of 1539, or in 1540. Although ready access seems to have been given to Leland's collections, they remained unprinted until the early part of the eighteenth century, when some of them were edited by the antiquary, Thomas Hearne. It is said that Edward VI. committed them to the care of Sir John Cheke, who, finding it best for his safety to leave England in Mary's reign, gave some

volumes to Humphrey Purejoy. These are now in the Bodleian Library. The rest came into the hands of Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil, Secretaries of State, and were much injured through want of proper preservation.

The following extracts from Leland's Itinerary and Miscellany are taken from Hearne's works, 2nd Edition, Oxford, mdecxlii :—

Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV., Part 2, pp. 75, 76.

Thinges excerpted out of certaine writinges¹ in the wall of the North Isle of the Body of the Cathedrall Church of Gloucester.²

Osric first underking and Lord of this Countrye, and the Kinge of Northumberland, with the licence of Etheldred King of March, first founded this Monastery an. d ni. 681. Osric by the councell of Bosell, first Bishop of Worcester, put in Nunnes, and maketh his sister Kineburge Abbesse there.

The noble women Kineburge, Eilburge, and Eva Queenes of March onely Abbasses for the tyme of the Nunnes, the which was 84 and 4 yeares. The Nunnes were banished and driven awaye by warres betwixt King Egbart and the King of Marches.

Barnulph King of Marches bringeth in Seculer Canons and Clerkes givinge possessions and liberties to them.

Kinge Canute for ill livinge expelleth the Seculer Clerkes, and by the councell of Wolstan Bishop of Worcester bringeth in Monkes.

Eldred Bishop of Worcester translated to Yorke taketh a great part of the landes of Gloucester Abbey to reædifie the Minster of Yorke.

¹These writings were preserved by other hands, and are given in the following pages from the appendix to Hearne's *Robert of Gloucester*. Fosbrooke, in his History of Gloucester, fol. ed., page 131, says that in one of the windows of the Cloisters there was a draught of the old church, and several verses intimating the original of the Convent; but that these were destroyed in the Civil Wars. Britton in his "Gloucester Cathedral," p. 26, note 20, says that these verses are printed in *Mon. Ang.*, new ed., I., 542.

²If these words "The Cathedrall Church of Gloucester" are Leland's own, his visit was later than I have conjectured, unless they were added by him as a heading to these notes after September, 1541.

A nobleman called Wolphine for 7 preists killed had penance to find perpetually 7 monkes in Gloucester.

Thomas Archbishop of Yorke restored the landes to Gloucester the which $\text{\textit{Aelredus}}$ Archbishop of Yorke wrongfully did withould.

William the Conquerour gave the Abbey of Gloucester decayed to Serlo, his Chaplaine. Serlo monachus Scti Michaëlis in Normannia.

K. William the Conquerour an his sonnes gave possessions and liberties to the Abbey of Gloucester.

Sancta Arilda Virgin, martyred at Kington by Thornebury, translated to this monastary had done many miracles.

Roger Lacy Earl of Hereford, Roger Lord Berkeley, Hugh de Portu, Helias Giffard, John Maungeant Canon of Hereford, were monkes in Gloucester.

The Quire and South-Isle of Gloucester-Church were made by oblations done at the tombe of King Edward II.

Pp. 76, 78: *The Names of Noblemen buried in the Monastery of Gloucester.*

Osric, Founder of Gloucester-Abbey, first laye in St. Petronell's Chappell, thence remooved into our Lady Chappell, and thence remooved of late dayes, and layd under a fayre tombe of stone on the north syde of the highaulter. At the foote of the tombe is this written in a wall:—Osirus (sic) Rex primus fundator hujus Monasterii. 681.

Rob^{ts} Curthoise, sonne to K. William the Conquerour, lyeth in the middle of the Presbiterie. There is on his tombe an image of wood paynted, made longe since his death.

King Edward of Cærnarvan (or K. E. 2) lyeth under a fayre tombe, in an arch at the head of King Osric tombe.

Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, lyeth under a fayre marble tombe, on the south side of the Presbiterie.

There was of late taken up a crosse, wrapped in a bulles hide, under an arch at the head of the tombe of Edward of Cærnarvan, where Malverne, *alias* Parker, late Abbot of Gloucester, made a chappell to be buried in. A monke tould mee that it was the corps of a Lady Countesse of Pembroke.

Abbott Horton lyeth under a flatt stone in the north part of the transept of the church.

Abbot Froucester lyeth in a chappell at the south west part of the Quire.

Gamage a K^t of Wales, and his wife, lye in a chappell in the north east part of the body of the church.

These inscriptions be written on the walles of the Chapter-House in the Cloyster of Gloucester :—

Hic jacet Rogerus Comes de Hereford.

Hic jacet Ricūs Strongbowe filius Gilberti comitis de Pembroke.

Hic jacet Gualterus de Lacy.

Hic jacet Philippus de Foye miles.

Hic jacet Bernardus de Novo Mercatu.

Hic jacet Paganus de Cadurcis.

Hic jacet Adam de Cadurcis.

Hic jacet Robertus Curtois.

These notable thinges following I learned of an ould man, made lately a monke of Gloucester :—

Serlo reædified Gloucester Abbey.

Abbot Hanley and Farley made our Lady Chappell, at the east end of the church.

Abbot Horton made the north part of the Crosse Isle.

The south part of the Cross Isle and much of the Presbitery vault was made by oblations at the tombe of King Edward II.

Abbot Sebroke made a great part of the exceedinge fayre and square Towre in the middest of the church.

The Towre is a pharos to all partes about from the hilles.

Abbot Froucester made the Cloyster a right goodly and sumptuous peice of worke.

Abbot Morwent newly erected the very west ende of the church and 2 arches of the body of the church, one on each syde, mindinge if he had lived to have made the whole body of the church of like worke.

He alsoe made the stately and costly porch on the south syd of the body of the church.

One Osberne celerer of Gloucester made of late a fayre new Tower or Gate-house at the south-west part of the abbey cemiterye.

These fayre villes or mannour places belongeth to the Abbot of Gloucester.

Prinkenesse, on an hill, where is a fayre parke 3 miles from Gloucester by east.

Dineyard a goodly house on an hillet at the cawsey end at Gloucester by west.

Hertlebury, 4 miles by north-west from Gloucester.

Froucester, where sometimes was a colledge of Prebendaries, suppressed and given to Gloucester Abbey distant from Gloucester 8 miles, and standeth a mile beyond Standley Priory. The king hath it nowe. It is an 100. m. by the yeare.

Bromefield, where sometimes was a little colledge, since impropriate to the Abbey of Gloucester, a 2 miles from Ludlowe.

Pp. 83, 84: There is a praty suburbe without Bishops-gate-street [Hereford]. There was a priory of St. Guthlake a cell to Gloucester. This Priory was afore in St. Peter's Church in Hereford, transeled thence to without the Bishop-gate suburbe by Hugh Lacy of St. Guthlake. Prior slaine at the aulter, and after in continuance transelated to the Chapter of St. Guthlake. Betun Bishop of Hereford gave them situm novi loci.

There was tombe of one Bernard Quarre, a Provost of St. Peter's in Hereford before the erectinge.

P. 93: There was a Priory or cell of Monkes at Bromfeild longing to Gloucester Abbey. There was sometimes Prebendaries. Giffard gave it to Gloucester Abbey.

This house stood betwixt Oney and Teme. Temde runneth nearest to the house it selfe. It standeth on the left ripe of it. Oney runneth by the banke syde of the orchard by the House, touchinge it with his right ripe, and a litle beneath the house is the confluence of Oney and Temde.

The following additional extracts from Leland's Collections are taken from Hearne's Collectanea Jo. Lelandi, 2nd Edition, London, 1770:—

Vol. I., p. 26. *De fundatoribus monasteriorum ante adventum Normannorum in Britanniam.*

Ecclesia S. Petri Glocestre ab Alredo Wigorniensi Episcopo fundata est.

Vol. I., p. 83. *Glocestre. Benedictini.*

Standeley Leonardi cella hujus domus redditus annuos habet centum librarum.

Vol. III., p. 60. Ethelfleda, Merc. princeps, condidit cœnobium apud Glocestre, ubi et sepulta fuit.

(Ethelfleda non in cœnobio, sed in ecclesiâ S. Petri Glocestriæ honorifice humata est, teste Hovendune).¹

Vol. IV., p. 159. *Codex M.S.S. in bibliothecâ cœnobii de Glocestre.*

Osberni, monachi Glocestrensis, Panormia instar vocabularii ad Hamelinum abbatem :—“ Cum in nocte hyemali.”

*Fuit hic impense eruditus, ut facile est videre in reliquis ejus operibus quæ sunt in bibliothecâ regiâ. Floruit sub Stephano te Henrico primo.*²

Zacharias Chrisopolitanus super evangelia.

Ailredi Rivallensis omelie triginta, ad G. episcopum Londinensem. *Tempus est fratres.*

Stephanus Cantuar : super Ecclesiasten.

Angelomi 4^{or} libri super libros regum.

Trivet super Psalterium. *Humana Natura.*

Notulæ Stephani Cantuar super Ecclesiasticum. *Hoc nomen Ecclesiastes.*

¹ William of Malmesbury says :—“ She died five years before her brother (A.D. 919), and was buried in the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester, which, in conjunction with her husband Ethered, she had erected with great solicitude : thither, too, she had transferred the bones of St. Oswald the King from Bardney ; but the monastery being destroyed in succeeding times by the Danes, Aldred, Archbishop of York, founded another, which is now the chief in that city.” See *Ante*, p. 28, and note.

Roger of Hoveden, a clerk of Henry II., wrote two works—(1) A Continuation of Bede’s History up to the death of Stephen ; (2), A History of the Reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, up to the year 1201. It is a disputed question whether Ethelfled, the Lady of the Mercians, was buried at St. Oswald’s Priory or St. Peter’s Abbey.

² “ Thomas, famulus Osberni monaci” is mentioned in a deed date c. 1139-1148.—*Hist. et. Cart. S. Petri*, Vol. II., p. 180.

Rabanus de naturis rerum.
 Alexander Necham super cantica Cantic.
 Haymo super evangelia et epistolas Pauli.
 Cassiodorus de animâ.
 Ockami dialogi inter magistrum et discipulum. *In omnibus curiosus.*
 Ockam super libros Sententiarum. *Circa prologum quæro.*
 Sampsonis Cantuar Omelie. *Deponemus omnem malitiam.*
 Sermones Cassiani.
 Gervasius, presbyter Cicestrensis, super Malachiam de ordinis sacerdotalis instructione. *Conditor itaque noster.*
 Ejusdem aliquot omelie. *Fuit hic Gervasius feliciter eruditus.*
 Fulgentius de Trinitate.
 Faldwinus¹ Fordensis Abbas de Sacramento altaris ad Barptolemæum, Exoniensem Episcopum (1161-1185).
Magnum et profundum.
 Fortunatus de vitâ Hilarii Pictavensis.
Osricus dux sepultus Glocestriæ, qui Cœnobium virginum construxit, ubi nunc sunt monachi.
Pars magna veteris ecclesie etiamnum restat.

¹In another edition of Hearne, this word is printed “ Baldwinus.”

GLOUCESTER ABBEY MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

In the Harleian Library, N. 627, is a MS. which is thus described in the official Catalogue.

Codex membranaceus in fol. min. quo continentur

- (1) : Genealogiae e sacris scripturis extractæ ; ab Adamo usque ad Jesum Christum ; cum adnotationibus.—Fol. 1 in dor.—fol. 7.
- 2 : Praefatio Petri de Riga, in Librum suum quem appellavit Aurora.—fol. 7, in dor.
- 3 : Syllabus Librorum quos ecclesiæ Sti. Petri Gloucestr. contulit Ricardus de Stowa ; inter alios, recensetur præsens volumen. fol. 8, in dor.
- 4 : Liber de Veteri et Novo Testamento, versificatus : i.e. Aurora Petri de Riga Rhemensis Ecclesiæ Canonici ; quem postea auxit et castigavit Aegidius de Columna, tunc Presbyter, demum Archiepiscopus Bituricensis.—fol. 9.
- 5 : Recapitulationes Veteris Testamenti, foliis posterioribus metricè scripæt.

TRANSLATION.

A vellum manuscript, small folio, containing :—

- (1) : Genealogies, taken from the Scriptures, from Adam to Jesus Christ.
- (2) Peter de Riga's preface to his " Aurora."
- (3) : List of books which Richard de Stowe gave to the Church of St. Peter, Gloucester, including the present volume.
- (4) : Books of the Old and New Testament in verse; *alias* "the Aurora" of Peter de Riga, canon of Rheims. This book was afterwards added to and corrected by Giles de Colonna, at that time a priest, and afterwards Archbishop of Bourges.
- (5) : A recapitulation of the Old Testament, in verse, occupying the remainder of the volume.

On the fly leaf of this MS. appears the following note, in a xvijth cent. hand :—

"Biblia versificata. Liber Richi de Stowa quem inter alios dedit Ecclesie S^{ec} Petri Gloucestr., qd. v^d. fol. 8, hie. Quid non videt qui videntem omnia videt. John Anne."

On the eighth leaf on the back appears: "Liber Ricardi de Stowa de Veteri et Novo Testam^{to} U'sificatus. Hii sunt libri q^os Ric. de Stowa dedit ecclie S^{ec} Petri Glouc. Pro eujus animâ preces p'solvatur. Am."

¶ Lib. Geneseos versificatus. In uno volum^ē.

¶ Psalterium Glosatū. In uno volum^ē.

¶ Psalt^{riū} Glosatū, usq. D'ne ne i. fur. [Domine, ne in furore. Ps. xxxviii.] et q̄ dā sc'pt'e, (quædam scripture.) In uno volum^ē.

¶ Presens Lib. de Novo et Vet'i testamento v'sificat? In uno volum^ē.

¶ Lib' de sacramentis. In vno volum^ē.

¶ Tractat' Mag'ri Petⁱ Manduc. de penitentiâ. de sac^amento bapti., de sac^amento corp'is et sangn'is d'ni. It vers' Genes. In uno volum^ē.

¶ Boetius consolatorū, et Yponosticon Laurentii Dunelmensis monachi, de Vet'i et Novo testamento. In uno volum^ē.

The manuscript in the British Museum is evidently the fourth of this list. It was probably removed with many other MSS. from Gloucester Abbey to the King's library by the advice of Leland. See *Nicolas's Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII*, 8vo., 1828, quoted by Britton, *Gloucester Cathedral*, page 12, note.

THE
 FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER,
 AND THE CHANGE OF THE SAME,
 BEFORE THE SUPPRESSION THEREOF IN THE REIGN OF
 KING HENRY THE EIGHTH
 By WILLIAM MALVERNE, D.D., LAST ABBOT OF GLOUCESTER.

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

THE following rhymes, which are taken from Hearne's edition of "Robert of Gloucester," Appendix, II., are said by that learned antiquary to have been sent to him by Mr. Baker, of Cambridge, and to have been extracted from the Miscellaneous Collections of Mr. Robert Hare in Caius Gonville College. They are evidently "the writinges" Leland refers to in his Itinerary.¹ (See Ante, p. 141.)

I

*J*N sundry fayre volumes of antiquity
 Plainly to sett by evident relation,
 That first founded this noble Monastery
 The year of our Lord 600. fourscore and one,
 In time of King Etheldred,¹ by devotion
 Of Osrike, under-king and chief lord of this shier,
 Which after, as we read, was King of Northumbere.

¹We are told in the memorial of Gloucester Cathedral, quoted by Dugdale, that in the year 679, Wolphere, the first Christian king of Mercia, whom the Mercians had saved from persecution, enlarged and beautified the town of Gloucester, and laid the foundations of the monastery; but, as he died before its completion, his brother Ethelred, who succeeded him, continued the good work, and for that purpose, in the first year of his reign, made Osric viceroy or under-king of the Huiccias, that he might undertake the care of the monastery during the progress of the work.

2

When Osrike, as sayd is, edified this building,
 Which caraved was with caracts wondrous to see,
 On most goodly of places in that time being,
 He it indued, of his liberality,
 With pleasant possessions, and large liberty,
 Garnishing it gaylie with ornaments also,
 The year of our Lord 600. fourscore and two.¹

3

The said noble Osrike, by councell of Bosell,
 (Which was the first Bishop of Worcester diocese),
 Did put in here nunns, to enhabite and dwell,
 And Kingburge his sister did constitute Abbesse.
 So briefly concluding mine author doth express,
 Accomplished was this acte by refute Divine,
 The year of our Lord 600. fourscore and nine.²

4

Three ladies, descended of kingly progeny,
 Kingsburge, Eadburge and Eve, queens of the Marches,
 The pompous wealth renouncing of mondain glory,
 Entred religion, and were only abbesses
 Of this place, whilst nunnes the same did posses,
 Which was fourscore years and 4. nother less nor more,
 Besyde whome here was no abbesse sith ne before.³

¹Etheldred gave to Osric 300 tributaries for the construction and endowment of the new abbey. Hist. St. Pet., I., p. 3.

²Osric carried out Etheldred's design with the counsel and advice of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bosel, Bishop of Worcester; and constituted his sister Kyneburgh the first Abbess.—Hist. St. Pet. I., p. 4.

³Kyneburgh, the first Abbess, ruled for 29 years, and, dying in 710, was buried before the altar of S. Petronilla. Eadburgh, a kinswoman of Kyneburgh, and the widow of Wulphere, King of the Mercians, was consecrated abbess by S. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, in 710, and ruled for 25 years. She died in 735, and was buried by S. Wilfrid, Bishop of Worcester, by the side of Kyneburgh before S. Petronilla's altar. Eva or Gaffa was consecrated abbess by S. Wilfrid in 735 and ruled for 32 years. She died in 767, and was buried near her predecessors. Hist. St. Petri, I., 6, 7.

5

For fraith with such frayltie is worldly prosperity,
 That suddenly it slideth, changing as the moone.
 An evident myrror hereof this place may be,
 Which, after great wealth, was brought to confusion
 Through war of King Egbert, the year or season
 Of our Lord seven hundred threescore and seven.
 And the nunnis then ravished from hence were dryven.¹

6

The right redoubted Bernulphe, king of the Marches,
 Moved with pitty, of his most bounteous grace,
 With great lands and liberties this house did encrease,
 And sette here secular canons, which by the space
 Of ninescore yeare and ten inhabited this place,
 Entring first the same, mine author doth specifie,
 The yere of our Lord 800. fower and thirty.²

7

After theis said yeares were fully expired,
 King Canute, conceyving the vicious living
 Of those disordered Clarkes, he then exiled,
 And, at the meeke request of Ulstan then being
 Bishop of this dioces, he thither did bring
 Black monkes, which lived religiously,
 The yere of our Lord a thousand two and twenty.³

¹The memorial in Dugdale says that S. Peter's lay desolate from 767 for fifty years, till the reign of Beornwulph.

²This date is evidently incorrect, for Beornwulph, king of the Mercians, was slain by the East Anglians in 825. Beornwulph, during his short reign, is said to have rebuilt S. Peter's, and to have placed there secular clergy. These differed but little from the laity in their rules of dress and diet, and were for the most part married. Beornwulph gave them a code of laws and endowed them with the possessions of the nuns. In 827 Mercia was subjugated by Ecgbryht, king of the West Saxons. In 862 Burgred, king of the Mercians, gave to S. Peter's land in Fairford, Wyarkeston, and Chedworth, confirmed all the donations which his predecessors had made, and freed the Abbey and all its dependencies from all lay service or exaction, on condition only that night and day for ever there should not cease to be prayers offered up for him and his descendants.

³The secular monks remained in possession of S. Peter's till 1022, when Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, with the sanction of King Canute, expelled them, and placed there regular monks of the order of S. Benedict.

8

But in short process of Fortune's adversity
 This church was decayed, and utterly fordone,
 In the time of Aldred, then Bishop of this sea,
 Which is re-edified fro the foundation,
 Retayning therefore much land and possession,
 Which translated to Yorke he never did restore,
 The yere then of our Lord a thousand and threescore.¹

9

A lord of great puissance, named Ulfine Le Rewe
 Was enjoyned by [the Pope] for ever to finde,
 Satisfyng for the seaven priests that he slew,
 7 monkes for them to pray world without minde.
 The which thing to accomplish himselfe he did binde,
 Daylie to God calling for mercy and pitty,
 The yere of our Lord a thousand three and thirty.

10

With harte right devoute, and humble affection,
 As one to repentaunce reclaymed by grace,
 This said noble Ulfine, with dewe devotion,
 Brought here his seven monks, and gave to this place
 Competent lands by writing in like case,
 Them to maintaine, and finde continually,
 The yere of our Lord a thousand fower and thirty.²

¹In 1058 Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, consecrated Wolstan Abbot of Gloucester by the licence of Edward the Confessor. He further proceeded to rebuild the church from the very foundations, placing it a little nearer to the boundaries of the city, and dedicated it anew to the honour of S. Peter. The monks were restored, but their numbers were diminished, for Aldred had appropriated to his own use several possessions of the abbey to repay himself the money he had expended in its construction.

²The substitution of Benedictine monks for secular clergy was very unpopular with the townsmen of Gloucester, and led to rioting, during which six priests were slain by the followers of a nobleman called Wulphine le Rewe between Churcham and Gloucester. Horrified at the crime, Wulphine hastened to Rome to seek absolution from the Pope, and obtained it on condition that he should endow the abbey with lands sufficient to maintain six priests. On his return he gave to St. Peter's his manors of Churcham and Highnam, with pastureage reaching to the Severn, stipulating that seven monks should pray continually for his soul.—Hist. S. Pet., I., p. 67.

II

The victorious King William Conquerour,
 By thadvice and minde of Osmonde the Holy Man,
 Made Serlo his Chaplyn Abbot and Governour
 Of this Monastery, greatly decaied then.
 The which Serlo was consecrated by St. Ulstan,
 A thousand yeres from Christ's Incarnation,
 A 3. score and twelve by trewe computation.¹

12

Swift fame, which all things reporteth equally,
 So spread had abroad the name of this Serlo,
 That great freedomes, lands and liberties trewely,
 At his request, were given and confirmed also
 By King William his sonne, and other moe
 Nobles of the realme, as in writing it is seen,
 The yere of our Lord 1060. and eightene.²

13

Thomas, Archbishop of Yorke, of his great goodnes,
 Unto this place did restore willingly again
 Those lands, which Aldred his predecessor doubtless,
 By 29. yeare wrongfully did detayne.
 Remorse thereof his conscience did so constrain.
 And the yeare of our Lord then truely to accompt
 To a thousand 4. score and fifteen did amount.³

¹With the appointment of Serlo, formerly a Canon of the Church of Avranches, and afterwards a monk in the Church of Mont S. Michel, by the advice of Osmund, the Conqueror's Chancellor and Chaplain, a new life was infused into Gloucester Abbey, and it became from this time one of the great religious houses of England. Its numbers had so dwindled that Serlo found there only two monks and eight young boys.—Hist. S. Pet., I., p. 17.

²Serlo and his cellarar Odo recovered many of the lost possessions of S. Peter's, and obtained many new concessions. These rhymes say nothing about the foundation and construction of a new church by Serlo. The first stone of Serlo's church was laid June 29th, 1089, by Robert, Bishop of Hereford.—Hist. S. Pet., I., p. 11.

³On Palm Sunday, 1095, Thomas, Archbishop of York, restored to S. Peter's all the land that Aldred, his predecessor, had taken away. The new church which Serlo had built “a fundamentis” was dedicated by Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, and Hervey, Bishop of Bangor, July 15, 1100. Two years later the city and church were burnt.

14

The wonderfull workes, wrought by power divine,
 Be not hid, ne palliat, but flourish daylie.
 Witness hereof is Arilde that blessed virgin,
 Which martyrized at Kinton, nigh Thornebury,
 Hither was translated, and in this monastery
 Comprised, and did miracles many one,
 As whosoe list to looke may finde in her Legion.

15

Edward also the Second, most honoured king,
 Whose body lyeth buryed heere in this churche,
 So angelike was he, and ghostly in living,
 That God for his love many miracles did woorch.
 By whose oblations the south isle of this church
 Edyfyed was and build, and also the queere,
 With many moe good deedes, not rehearsed heere.

16

Whilome Religion in earth was moch loved,
 Greatly gloryfied of many worthy lord.
 By Roger Lord Barkley¹ this thing is well proved,
 And by Roger Lacy² (some time Erle of Hereford)
 Hugo de Portue³ and eke Helias Gifford,⁴
 Mr. Jon Maugrant,⁵ with other in like case,
 Which renouncing the world became monks in this place.

¹Roger de Berkeley, tenant of the royal manor of Berkeley under William I. and William II., became a monk of S. Peter's on S. Sebastian's Day (January 20), 1091. This family of Berkeley, who founded the College of Canons at Stanley S. Leonard must not be confounded with the Fitzhardinges who obtained a grant of the Lordship of Berkeley from Henry II.—Hist. S. Pet., I., p. 112, &c.

²Roger de Lacy became a monk of S. Peter's early in the 12th century and gave lands in Herefordshire for which his brother Walter de Lacy, the king's constable, exchanged certain lands in Haresfield in the time of Hameline (1148-1179).—Id., I., p. 89.

³Hugh de Portu appears as witness to an abbey deed in the time of William I. He gave the manor of Lyttelton in Hampshire to S. Peter's in the time of Serlo (1082-1104).—Id., I., p. 93.

Portus is probably the harbour of Portsmouth, and Hugh de Portu may have occupied the ancient fortress of Porchester.

⁴Helias Gifford, Lord of Brimspfield, became a monk of S. Peter's in the time of Hameline.—Id. I., p. 69.

⁵John Maungeant, Leland says, was a Canon of St. Peter's College, Hereford. See Ante, p. 142.

And sondry famous kings also of this land,
 Intending to conquer the Realme celestiall,
 Renounced their kingdomes, and gladly tooke in hand
 Holy Religion, and became men spirituall.
 King Coelulfe¹ and Edberte² to remembraunce I call,
 Which of Northumber were kings contignat,
 And after became monkes surrendring their estate.

Kenredus³ and Eldred,⁴ kings of the Marches,
 There successively reigning, became monks also,
 King Siberte⁵ of Estangle, and Offa⁶ doubtless,
 And the noble king Cobby,⁷ which reigned both two
 In Estesex, Constance of Brittain,⁸ with other moe,
 As Sedwalla⁹ and Ine¹⁰, became monks in likewise,
 That kings were of Westsex, mine author doth devise.

¹Ceolwulf became a monk of Lindisfarne in 737.—*Simeon of Durham*.

²Eadberht became a Canon of York in 758.—*Chronicle of Melrose*.

³Cynred went to Rome and became a monk there in 708.—*Florence of Worcester*.

⁴Ethelred became a monk in 704, and was afterwards an abbot.—*Bede*.

⁵Segebert retired to Bury S. Edmund's Monastery in 636; but was reluctantly brought from his cell to fight against the Pagan Penda, and was slain with a staff in his hand.—*Bede*.

⁶Sigberct was the first king of the East Saxons to receive Christianity. He was baptized by Finan in 653. I have not found any mention of his becoming a monk.

⁷Sebbi, sub-king of the East Saxons, received the religious habit from Ualdheri, Bishop of London, in 694. He died and was buried in S. Paul's Cathedral in 699.—*Bede*. See also *Stowe* and *Weever*.

⁸Constantine, son of Cadurc, was king of Cornwall and, some authors say, of Britain. He resigned his kingdom and became a monk c. 583. He was buried at Stonehenge.

⁹Cædualla, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome and was baptized by Pope Sergius I. in 689. He died in 690, and was buried at S. Peter's at Rome. His monument, with the epitaph given by Bede was found by Fabretti, and is described in his “*Antiqueæ Inscriptiones*,” No. 463, p. 735.

¹⁰Ine, who succeeded Cædualla, abdicated in 725, and died in Rome as his predecessor had done.—*Bede*.

The right puissant Prince Constantine and Edgare,
 Most worthy in realmes to have gubernation,
 Chief shields of defence for the Church ever were,
 Under the shadow of whose sure protection
 Florished ever all the Holy Religion
 Of St. Benedict,¹ which fro virtue to virtue
 To the Land of God proceeded ay new and new.

The eternall king reigning in three two and one,
 Which all seeth, all knoweth, and all doth advise,
 With hundred fould shall reward every chone,
 Which here in their life this wretched world doth despise,
 And at the day of judgment shall say in this wise,
 “Come ye, Blessed Children, and possess for your right
 “My Heavenly Kingdome, and dwell ay in my sight.”

¹St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine rule, was born in Italy, about the year 480, and died about 543. His system of monastic discipline obtained no great influence in England until the reigns of Edwin and Edgar, 955—975; nevertheless Benedictine abbeys were founded at Wearmouth and Jarrow by Benedict Biscop in 672, and Bede, who was born in that year, was one of the first English boys devoted to the service of God under the Benedictine rule. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, and the greatest of England's missionaries, was a Benedictine monk and the founder of a Benedictine abbey at Fulda in 746. Odo, who had previously received the cowl of a Benedictine monk from the Abbot of Fleury, was raised to the see of Canterbury in 941; but it was by the influence of Dunstan his successor that the rule was established throughout a great part of England. He is said to have expelled, with the authority of Edgar, the secular monks from more than forty monasteries, and to have filled their places with Benedictine monks. Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and nephew of Archbishop Odo, imposed the Benedictine rule on the abbeys of Evesham, Pershore, and Winchcombe; but the abbey of Gloucester successfully resisted his attempt to make a similar change. The secular canons were probably supported by Duke Alphere, who, on the death of Oswald, reinstated the secular monks in the abbeys of Evesham and Pershore. St. Peter's finally succumbed to the powers of the Benedictine rule in 1022 during the episcopacy of Wulfsstan: but the change led to riots in the town of Gloucester, and to the murder of Benedictine monks by the followers of a Saxon noble called Walpin le Rewe.

21

Where is and shall be eternall
 Joy, incomparable myrth without heaviness,
 Love with charity and grace celestiall,
 Lasting interminable, lacking no goodness.
 In that Citty virtue shall never cease,
 And felicity no soule shall misse,
 Magnifying the name of the Kinge of Blisse.

22

This compendious extract compiled¹ was new,
 A thousand yeere 5. hundred fower and twenty
 From the birthe of our Saviour Christ Jesue,
 By the Reverend Father of worthy memory
 Will^m Malverne, Abbot of this monastery,
 Whome God preserve in long life and prosperity,
 And after death him graunt Eternalall Felicity.

¹A glance at these rhymes shows us that Abbot Malverne drew his materials for this work from some history written at the close of the 14th century, as no event later than the rebuilding of the Choir by Abbots Staunton and Horton is recorded. But for Leland we should know very little indeed of the later architectural history of the abbey:—of the erection of the west front of the nave, the two western arches, and the south porch by Abbot Morwent, 1421—1437; of the great eastern tower by Robert Tully, during the Abbacy of Thomas Seabroke; of the lady chapel by Abbots Hanley and Farley, 1457—1499; and of the cemetery gate on the south-west by John Osborn the cellararer, during William Malverne's abbacy.

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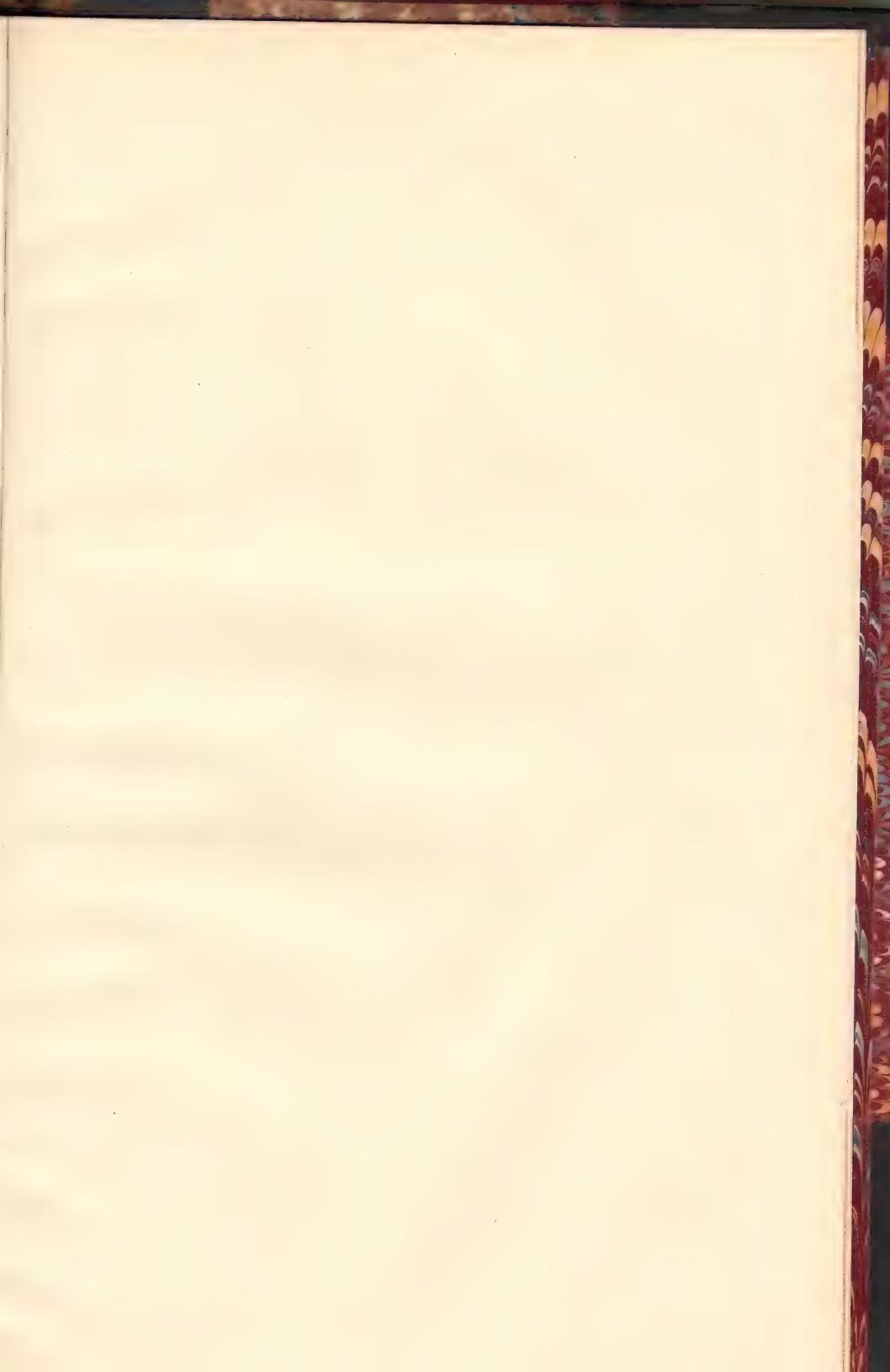
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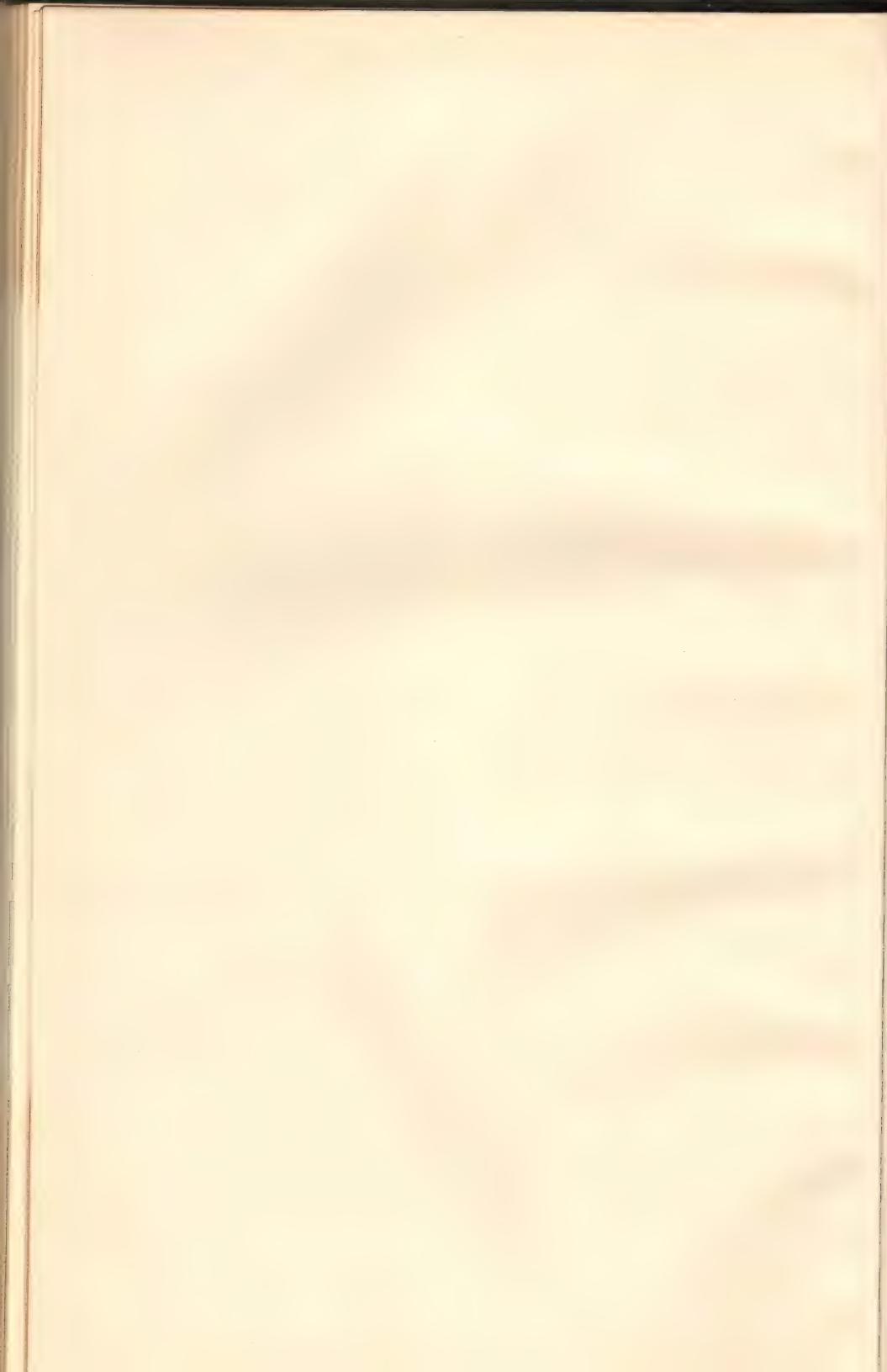
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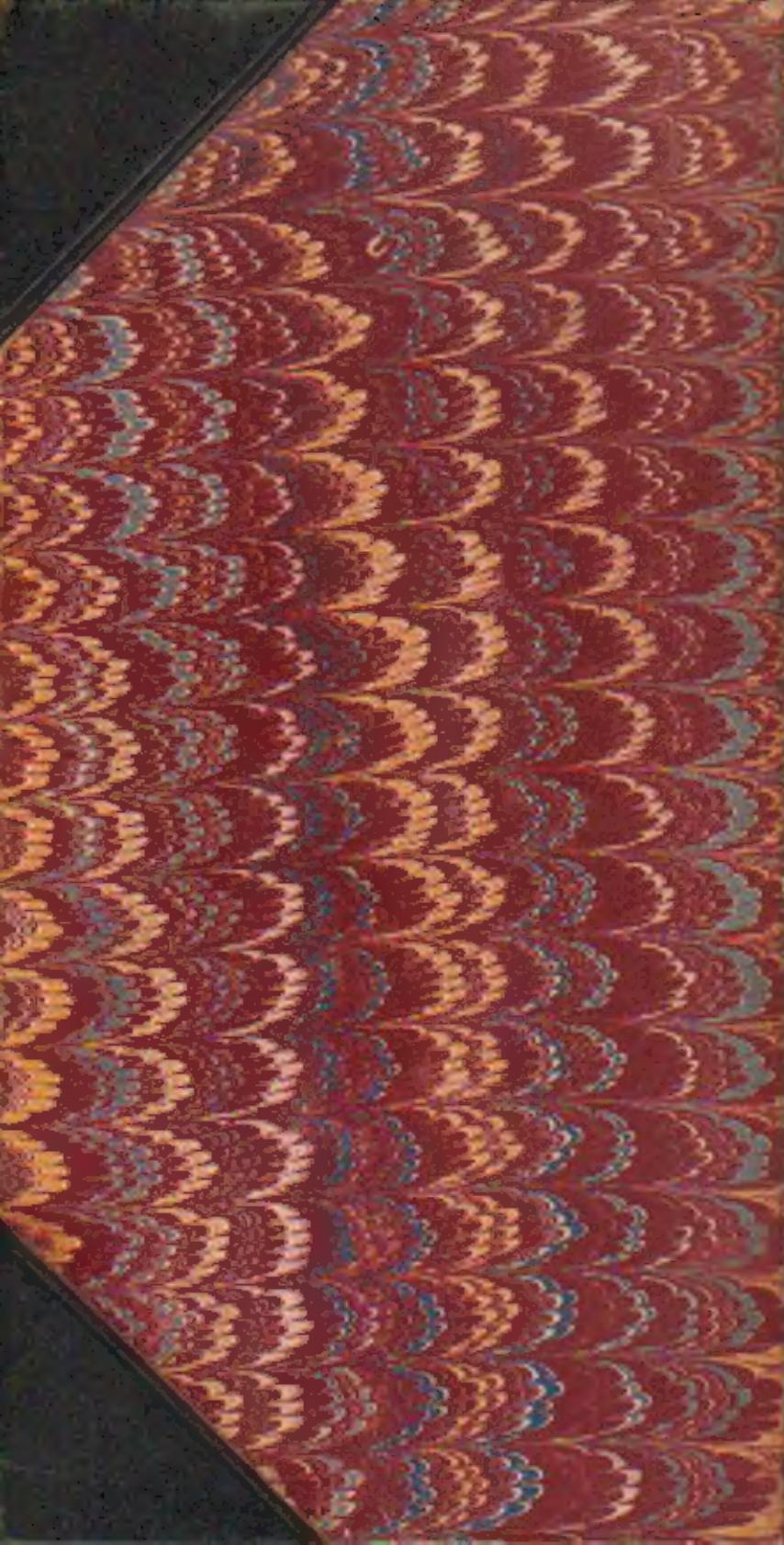
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